

234093

JPRS-CPS-85-044

15 May 1985

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

15 May 1985

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

LIAOWANG ON U.S., USSR NUCLEAR, SPACE WEAPONS

HK090550 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 12, 25 Mar 85 pp 33-34

[Article by Qin Zhong [4440 6988]: "Competition and Comparison--U.S. and Soviet Nuclear Arms and Space Weaponry Development"]

[Text] The United States and the Soviet Union started their arms control talks in Geneva on 12 March. The following is a brief introduction to the development and comparison of American and Soviet strategic nuclear weapons, medium-range nuclear weapons, and space weapons:

#### Strategic Nuclear Weapons

Strategic weapons are an important link in the contention between the United States and the Soviet Union for overall military superiority. The competition between the two sides in this respect started as early as after World War II. They have now developed fourth-generation strategic nuclear weapons and have made marked progress and improvements in terms of missile siting, survival capacity, rocket fuel, reaction rate, percentage of hits, destruction capability, and other areas.

At present the United States and the Soviet Union have established strategic nuclear strike forces armed with intercontinental missiles, strategic submarine-to-ground missiles, and long-range bombers. Both countries are implementing the nuclear strategy of "deterrence plus actual combat." However, the Soviet Union attaches more importance to actual combat, whereas the United States lays more stress on deterrence. As far as the establishment of the strategic nuclear forces are concerned, the Soviet Union has stressed the development of first-strike intercontinental missiles, whereas the United States emphasizes the development of second-strike strategic submarine-to-ground missiles. As far as the number of strategic nuclear weapons is concerned, the Soviet Union has more carrier vehicles than the United States. The Soviet Union has 2,400 or so, whereas the United States has only 2,100 or so. The total equivalent of nuclear warheads of the Soviet Union is greater than that of the United States. The Soviet Union has 5 billion tons or so, whereas the United States has only 4 billion tons. The strike capability of the Soviet Union for soft targets in cities (targets on the ground which can be easily hit) is stronger than that of the United States. As far as the number of nuclear warheads is concerned, the United States possesses more than the Soviet Union.

The United States has 9,400 or so, whereas the Soviet Union has only about 8,000. The United States has exerted its main efforts to develop and deploy sea-based strategic missiles. Therefore, they have greater maneuverability and survival capacity. As far as the quality of strategic missiles is concerned, as a result of making greater efforts over the past few years, the Soviet Union has narrowed the gap with the United States, but the United States still holds a lead, especially in terms of the percentage of strikes, the target-selection capacity of intercontinental missiles, the number of voyages of strategic submarines, the percentage of strikes by submarine-to-submarine missiles, the emergent defense capacity of bombers, and the capacity for electronics warfare. The actual combat capacity of the United States is stronger than that of the Soviet Union.

Generally speaking the strategic nuclear forces of the United States and the Soviet Union are balanced in terms of power. Neither side can completely destroy the strategic strike forces of the other side in a first strike without retaliation by the strategic nuclear weapons of the other side. At present, the strategic nuclear weapons of both sides have reached a saturation point. It is difficult for either side to seek superiority over the other side by simply increasing the number and improving the quality of their strategic nuclear weapons. In this connection, both sides are vying with each other to develop space weapons in a bit to upset the present strategic nuclear balance.

#### Medium-Range Nuclear Weapons

The competition in medium-range nuclear weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union has mainly taken place in the European region. Medium-range nuclear weapons are the main components of the operational nuclear forces of both sides. Strategic nuclear weapons generally include all nuclear weapons and carrier vehicles except the strategic nuclear forces. Due to the fact that the Soviet Union and Warsaw Treaty Organization have gained superiority in ground forces, the United States and its NATO allies have tried to depend on theater nuclear forces to resist a conventional attack by the other side in Europe without using strategic nuclear forces. At present the United States has about 8,000 theater nuclear weapons, including aircraft, missiles, artillery, and so on. However, the Soviet Union has only 5,000. After making a comparison between them, we find that the United States has gained certain numerical superiority. However, in the composition of theater nuclear forces, the United States mainly relies on aircraft which have both conventional and nuclear combat capability. During wartime these aircraft are liable to be controlled by the air defense forces of the other side. The Soviet Union mainly relies on missiles. Therefore, it has a stronger capability to break through air defense systems. American theater nuclear forces are mainly deployed on its territory. It is in a markedly inferior position in Europe. Particularly since the Soviet Union deployed in Europe from the late 1970s the SS-20 intermediate-range missiles, which have a long range and are powerful, the United States has held that the balance of theater nuclear forces in Europe has been upset by the Soviet Union. While trying to force the Soviet Union to reduce the number of the SS-20 medium-range missiles, the United States has decided to deploy Pershing-II medium-range missiles and Tomahawk



Cruise missiles in order to restore the balance. While refusing to reduce the number of its medium-range nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union is doing everything possible to force the United States to give up its plan of continued deployment. Therefore, the conflict between the two sides over medium-range Euro-missiles has become increasingly acute.

At present the Soviet Union has deployed 243 SS-20 medium-range missiles in the European region, whereas the United States has only deployed 118 medium-range missiles (54 Pershing-II missiles and 64 Tomahawk cruise missiles). The Soviet Union outnumbers the United States in this respect. However, the strike percentages of the U.S. Pershing-II missiles and Tomahawk cruise missiles are much higher than that of the Soviet SS-20 missiles. Tomahawk cruise missiles are also equipped with an advanced topographic-matching guidance system, and have the capacity to break through air defense system at ultra-low altitudes (chao di kong tu fang neng li 6389 0144 4500 4499 7089 5174 0500]. They are strike weapons which are difficult for the existing Soviet air defense system to deal with. Viewing things from the angle of general operational nuclear forces, we know that once a war breaks out, the United States can dispatch within 15 days more than 1,000 aircraft from its territory to Europe, which can drop or fire nuclear weapons. This enables the operational nuclear forces of the United States in Europe to become twice that of the Soviet Union. The operational nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union are mainly deployed in Europe. During wartime its capability for force expansion is limited. If the independent nuclear power of Great Britain and France is included, NATO still predominates over the Warsaw Treaty Organization to a certain extent.

#### Space Weapons

The contention for space weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union started in the mid-1960s. From the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, both the United States and the Soviet Union devoted their main efforts to developing anti-satellite weapons. They have manufactured space shuttles since the late 1970s. They have also conducted experiments on developing directed energy weapons and setting up permanent space stations.

Antisatellite weapons are mainly used for destroying the other side's military satellite system so that its military command systems become "deaf, blind, and dumb" and lose the capability for strategic nuclear strikes. In 1976 the Soviet Union first developed interceptor satellites which can draw close their targets and then destroy enemy satellites by exploding. More than 20 experiments have been carried out to date. The Soviet Union has fairly powerful actual combat effectiveness in this respect. Before the mid-1970s the United States mainly developed nuclear missiles, and regarded them as antisatellite weapons. In the late 1970s it roused itself to catch up in developing antisatellite weapons. In 1983 the United States succeeded in trial-producing antisatellite missiles which were launched from F-15 fighters. It is planned to officially deploy such weapons in 1987. Compared with the Soviet interceptor satellites, the U.S. antisatellite missiles have the strong points of flexible deployment, greater mobility, higher percentage of hits, and a more powerful capability for surprise attack.

Space shuttles are mainly used for carrying and repairing military satellites and providing space military facilities (including permanent space stations). They have antisatellite and antimissile capabilities in space and can use nuclear weapons to directly attack targets on the ground. They are important weapons for carrying out war in outer space. The United States has successfully developed the space shuttles "Columbia," "Challenger" and "Discovery." They have completed more than 10 space flights, have successfully and repaired satellites, and have conducted various kinds of experiments. The United States has also developed a newer type of space shuttle which can directly take off from the ground like ordinary aircraft, but their flight speed in space is four times faster than the speed of sound. They can fly from any location in outer space to any location on earth within 22 hours. The Soviet Union started developing its space shuttles in 1978, and its first small space shuttle completed its trial flight in 1983. No record of success has been divulged since then.

Permanent space stations can be used not only as space command posts in future star wars, but also as centers for carrying out various experiments and repairing space shuttles. In the meantime, they can be used to deploy platforms for various kinds of space weapons, including directed energy weapons. The Soviet Union has made preparations for conducting experiments aimed at setting up permanent space stations. In recent years the Soviet Union has successfully launched "Soyuz" space ships and "Progress" freighter space ships which have linked with "Salut" orbital stations on several occasions. All this has initially laid a foundation for establishing permanent space stations. The United States also possesses the capability of establishing permanent space stations, and has worked out plans to be implemented. First-stage space stations can hold 3 persons; second-stage space stations can hold 4 to 6 persons, and third-stage space stations can hold 9 to 12 persons. This project might possibly be completed in the early 1990's.

Directed energy weapons include lasers, particle clusters, microwave clusters, plasma clusters, and so on. They can be deployed on the ground or, in the future, in permanent space stations. They are important weapons for space warfare, which can be used to destroy the enemy's satellites and missiles deployed on the ground or in flight. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have carried out research work in this respect for a long time, and have made certain progress. However, there are still many technological problems to be resolved. Much work still has to be done before actual deployment.

Judging from the survey made in the above-mentioned four aspects, we understand that the United States markedly holds the lead in the development of space weapons, and that the trends of development are detrimental to the Soviet Union. The main reason why the Soviet Union has given up its precondition put forward last year that the United States must abolish its medium-range missiles deployed in Europe, and has made an offer to the United States on its own initiative concerning a package deal including the demilitarization of the space, is to force the United States to give up its program for developing space weapons so that the ground strategic nuclear balance of both sides can be retained. This runs counter to the original intention of the United States of speeding up the development of space weapons. In view of the completely different stands taken by both sides, the U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva will be arduous and protracted negotiations.

GENERAL

PRC'S HUANG HUA RECALLS BANDUNG CONFERENCE

HK200332 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 20 Apr 85 p 4

[By Staff Reporter Zhu Yinghuang]

[Text] Thirty years ago yesterday Huang Hua witnessed an epoch-making event in modern history--the first Asian and African conference at Bandung, Indonesia.

"It was memorable, because history has since proved the vitality of the Bandung spirit," said Hunag Hua in an interview with CHINA DAILY on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the conference.

The conference was held from 18 to 24 April, 1955.

Huang Hua, now vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, was political adviser and spokesman for the Chinese delegation headed by late Premier Zhou Enlai.

The conference was attended by 29 nations.

"We cannot think of the conference without remembering such beloved people as Zhou Enlai, Chen Yi, Liao Chengzhi, Li Kenong and Zhang Hanfu," said Huang Hua. "Nor can we pay adequate tribute to those outstanding statesmen of Asian and African countries who made great contributions to the conference: Sukarno, Nehru, Nasser, Ali Sastroamijoyo."

The Chinese delegation, headed by Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian, is now on its way to Bandung--this time for the conference's 30th anniversary celebration to be held 22 to 24 April. This will be the first Chinese delegation invited to Indonesia since diplomatic relations between the two countries were suspended in 1967.

"We would like to express our thanks to the Indonesian Government," said Huang Hua, "for providing another opportunity for Asian and African leaders to meet old friends, recollect the old days, gain new mutual understanding and discuss current world affairs."

Huang Hua pointed out that organizing the commemorative gathering at the historical city of Bandung has immediate significance.

To illustrate his point, Huang recalled the 1955 meeting:

"In the early 1950s, most Asian and African countries were still under colonial rule, subjected to oppression, exploitation and racial discrimination. For those who had just won national independence, enormous efforts would be needed over a long period to change their poverty and backwardness. They needed a peaceful international environment in which they could concentrate on economic development."

It was against this background that the premiers of India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) met in Colombo in April 1954 and called for an Asian-African conference. In June, during visits to India and Burma, Premier Zhou made clear China's support for such a conference. Meanwhile, the Sino-Indian and Sino-Burmese joint statements put forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the norm for governing relations between nations.

"From its start, the conference won the active support of the Chinese Government," said Huang.

However, not everyone was pleased to see China's participation.

Just before the meeting, the world was shocked when an Indian plane, the Princess Kashmir, thought to be chartered to take Premier Zhou to Indonesia exploded after take-off from Hong Kong. Three staff members of the Chinese delegation, eight journalists--five Chinese, one Polish, one Austrian and one Vietnamese--and some Indian crew members on the plane were killed. Immediate investigations revealed that a bomb had been planted on the plane by agents from Taiwan in an attempt to murder Zhou Enlai and other members of the Chinese delegation.

"We paid for the conference with blood," said Huang Hua.

It was not all plain sailing at the conference either, Huang recalled.

The imperialist powers tried to sow discord among the participating nations. Either out of prejudice or ignorance of New China, a few of the delegates began openly to attack China in their speeches.

"A tense atmosphere prevailed. Premier Zhou sat there, listening calmly to the speeches, while delegates and reporters from other countries turned their eyes on him--they were wondering how Premier Zhou would react," Huang Hua recalled.

At the last minute, Zhou decided to deliver a new speech to the assembly; he had distributed the original one in written form.

When he walked onto the platform with firm steps, a solemn silence prevailed and everybody seemed to be holding their breath, Huang remembered.

"The Chinese delegation has come here to seek unity and not to quarrel," Zhou began. "We are here to seek common ground, not to create divergence."

His whole speech was in a mild, frank and sincere tone, very touching and convincing. It let the facts speak for themselves, Huang recalled.

Premier Zhou said that we could have raised the issue of Taiwan, the question of recognizing and restoring the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, "but we did not do so, because otherwise our conference would be dragged into disputes about all these problems without any chance of solving them."

He stressed that we should not "let our difference hinder us from achieving agreement as far as our main task is concerned," Huang recalled.

To conclude, Zhou quoted an old Chinese saying, "Better seeing once than hearing a hundred times," to invite the delegates of all the participating countries to visit China. "We have no 'bamboo curtain,' but some people are spreading a smoke-screen between us," he stated.

His speech ended, and the whole conference hall echoed with long, thunderous applause and cheers. Heads of delegations such as Ali Sastroamijoyo, Nehru, and U Nu left their seats and come over to embrace Premier Zhou. Some people who had attacked China in their speeches even came to shake hands with Zhou and apologized.

It was Zhou's famous principle of "seeking common ground while reserving differences" that helped to bring about solutions on several issues at the conference, including the adoption of the 10 principles of Bandung, which were an extension of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

The world has changed much since then. A radical change, Huang Hua believes, has been the burial of the colonial system and the fast emergence of the Third World countries which he described as "inevitable."

"However, their economic position has not changed much," Huang argued. "Their development has been handicapped by the old world economic order, and the majority of developing countries are still in economic difficulties."

Huang said that it is unwise for the developed countries to hide behind their own economic problems and refuse to reform the old world economic order.

"The world economic prosperity and political stability can be achieved only when the Third World countries become developed," he said.

For developing countries--China included--Huang suggested that their pressing task is to develop their domestic economies, "so that their hard-won political independence can be consolidated."

Meanwhile, developing countries should try to solve their disputes through negotiation, rather than military confrontation, which Huang said "will only aggravate their own difficulties and leave loopholes for outside intervention."

"The difficulties are severe, but they are only temporary and can be overcome so long as we are united in the Bandung spirit and act on appropriate policies. No force in the world, I am sure, can ever resist the rising of the Third World," Huang Hua concluded.

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

U.S., JAPAN, UK TOP INVESTORS IN HONG KONG

OW241435 Beijing XINHUA in English 1234 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] Hong Kong, 24 April (XINHUA)--The United States now holds 54 percent of the foreign industrial investment in Hong Kong as against 44 percent in 1981, a local press report today quoted Hong Kong's Director of Industry Department John Yaxley as saying.

Speaking at a press conference in New York yesterday, Yaxley said this share made the United States the number one foreign investor here, followed by Japan (21 percent) and the United Kingdom (7 percent).

In money terms, U.S. investment in Hong Kong's manufacturing industry has more than doubled in the past 4 years to 6,420 million Hong Kong dollars (800 million U.S. dollars), while overall foreign investment has increased 63 percent, he said.

Yaxley said that Hong Kong's industry, particularly in those areas with high foreign investment, was becoming more and more capital intensive and no longer centered on cheap labor.

Hong Kong, which exports about 98 percent of its manufactured products, now lays more emphasis on automation and quality control than in the past. It has the second highest labor costs in Asia after Japan, Yaxley said.

Of the total foreign investment in Hong Kong's industry, 36 percent is in electronics, 10 percent in textiles and garments, and 8 percent in electrical products.

CSO: 4000/194

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

WEN WEI PO REPORTERS TALK WITH CAMBODIA'S SON SANN

HK221554 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 22 Apr 85 p 4

[Special dispatch from special correspondents Chi Hsi-ching [7871 4406 1987] and Juan Ji-hung [7086 4764 1347]: "Son Sann, In an Interview With Us, Denounces Vietnam for Failing to Abide by the Bandung Declaration"]

[Text] Democratic Kampuchea Prime Minister Son Sann, who attended the Bandung Conference 30 years ago, said on Sunday that if Vietnam, which signed the Bandung Declaration in 1955, could show respect for the Bandung spirit, the Cambodian issue would be easier to solve.

Son Sann arrived in Jakarta on Sunday and gave an interview to the reporters of this newspaper and of the XINHUA News Agency that evening. He said that Vietnam would never be able to wipe out the anti-Vietnamese forces in Cambodia. If they could, the Vietnamese Army would not have to launch offensives again and again. He declared that "we are still fighting."

Son Sann said that after the meeting in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Bandung Conference, he will return to Cambodia to reorganize the resistance forces. They will adopt new tactics so that Vietnam will not be able to know where their strongholds are and when they will launch attacks. He added that their only aim is to drive the Vietnamese occupier troops out of their country and that they had no intention of fighting a war with Vietnam.

Son Sann stressed that although differences remain among the three parties of Democratic Kampuchea, they have an identical goal of resisting Vietnam's aggression against their country. Vietnam demanded that all negotiations exclude the Khmer Rouge, because the Vietnamese could not wipe out the Khmer Rouge despite the fighting which has been going on for so many years. How can we get rid of the Khmer Rouge? We share a common objective with the Khmer Rouge, that is, to resist Vietnam.

Son Sann visited the United States from 8 to 18 April. There he met with U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. A U.S. congressional committee has put forth an act suggesting \$5 million in assistance to the non-communist anti-Vietnamese guerrilla forces in Cambodia. The reporters asked Son Sann about the significance of his recent visit to the United States. He said that the \$5 million assistance would just be a very small amount. Vietnam is now attacking us every day,

and we cannot resist them bare-handed. We need anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons. He added that after the assistance act passes the U.S. Congress, he will go to Europe to seek more assistance.

Son Sann also told the reporters that some countries do not vote for the UN resolution that requires Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia because they do not understand the situation in his country. This time, he will explain to the Asian and African countries what has happened in Cambodia on informal occasions. Later he will go to Latin America to solicit political and moral support. More important, however, is Vietnam's attitude. Vietnam not only refuses to carry out the UN resolution, but is also disrespectful of the Bandung spirit.

When briefing the reporters on the situation in the refugee camps, Son Sann said: I am not a soldier by nature, but I have been prime minister for a number of cabinets in Cambodia. We have built hospitals and schools in the camps, not only for attracting more Cambodian people to our side, but also for showing the whole world that we will rebuild our home in this way. However, the Vietnamese Army has repeatedly attacked and even destroyed our refugee camps and fired at innocent civilians. Our desire to rebuild our home has been unreasonably hindered and threatened by Vietnam.

CSO: 4005/830



SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

PHILIPPINE NEWS AGENCY MEETING--Beijing, 22 April (XINHUA)--Deng Liqun, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and head of the committee's Propaganda Department, met a delegation from the Philippine News Agency (PNC) here today. Led by Director and General Manager Jose L. Pavia, this is the first delegation from the PNC to China. The XINHUA News Agency and the PNC signed an agreement on exchanging news in 1978. The meeting was followed by a dinner given by Deng for the Philippine visitors. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 22 Apr 85 OW]

CSO: 4000/194

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PLANT PARTY COMMITTEE'S ROLE AFTER REFORM DISCUSSED

Beijing SIXIANG ZHENGZHI GONGZUO YANJIU [IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK RESEARCH]  
in Chinese No 6, 8 Dec 84 pp 15-17

[Article by Hu Xin [5170 2450], party committee secretary of Wuxi Radio Plant: "An Exploration into the Issue of How the Party Committee Will Play the Role of Guarantee and Supervision After the Introduction of the Plant Director Responsibility System"]

[Text] The Wuxi radio plant specializes in producing the cores of communication machines, recorders and sound-recorders, the three series of products. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, we earnestly implemented the principle of readjustment, achieved "shifting tracks and changing models," and made relatively good economic results. Last June, our plant became one of the six experimental units in Wuxi's reform and began to introduce the plant director responsibility system. As the labor division between party affairs, enterprise management and labor union became more clear-cut, the administrative command system of production was further strengthened and the economic results further improved. From January to August, the total industrial output value increased 95 percent compared with that of the same period last year, and the amount of profits was 8 million yuan, an increase of 150 percent over that of the same period last year and fulfilling the profit plan of the state more than 4 months ahead of schedule.

I

After introducing the plant director responsibility system, the most noticeable change is that the party committee's direct command and decision making in administrative work have changed to guarantee and supervision. Some comrades are concerned that it will undermine the role of the party organization in the enterprise and that the party committee will have little authority in the future. Such concern must be eliminated, and we must correctly understand the party committee's guarantee and supervisory role. It is an issue of ideological understanding which must be first solved in introducing the plant director responsibility system. In the experimental unit, we focus on the following three aspects of unified thinking:

1. We must fully recognize that guarantee and supervision are a major transformation in the form of the party committee's leadership. After the

founding of the nation, the leadership system of China's industrial enterprises underwent several repeated and tortuous changes, but we were unable to leap out of the old mold of "the secretary in command" and "handling party affairs and enterprise administration together." Some comrades remarked: When the party committee's words were final, the plant director revolved around its orders, squatted down to watch, and worked with his eyes on it. The introduction of the plant director responsibility system has produced a major transformation in the party committee's leadership. In a certain sense, it differentiates the functions of the party and the administration in form of law, and further solves, in organization, the absence of distinction between the party and the administration, a long-standing flaw in enterprises. The party committee no longer monopolizes production administration, and the plant director no longer has to "seek instructions in the morning and make reports in the evening." It strengthens the productive command system, conducive to the plant director's prompt decision making and firm and resolute command.

2. We must fully recognize that guarantee and supervision are the party committee's important functions and that the requirements have become higher than before. Some comrades feels that, limited to guarantee and supervision, the party committee is "demoted one grade in prestige and shorn of power." It is a misunderstanding. Actually, the party committee must shift from direct leadership over production and administration to guarantee and supervision, from productive and administrative affairs to party building and ideological-political work, and from basic leadership to going into reality, investigation and study, doing mass work and strengthening concrete leadership over party and mass organizations. Thus, the party committee must observe issues, analyze problems and deploy its work from the political angle, involving a greater difficulty and higher requirements than direct intervention in production and administration. The party cadres must possess not only a strong dedication and sense of responsibility, but also an advanced ideological level and superb leadership techniques. How can it be called "shorn of power"?

3. We must fully recognize that guarantee and supervision form an indivisible whole. Guarantee embodies supervision, and supervision is for the purpose of achieving guarantee more successfully. Some people feel that "guarantee is easily understood, but supervision is difficult to enforce," and even worry that supervision will affect reform, spoil the relations and discourage enthusiasm. Actually, supervision does not mean assuming a stern expression to find faults, seek trouble and dwell on trivialities, nor "transcending this world" and standing high above the masses. Supervision will activate the party members and worker masses and, by means of diverse channels and methods, such as direct supervision by the party committee, supervision by the workers' congress and innerparty discipline inspection guide the various economic activities in the enterprise and ensure its strict observance and implementation of the party's and state's principles, policies, laws, decrees and regulations and its development in the socialist orientation. Overlooking supervision is equivalent to relinquishing the party committee's most basic function, making it impossible to achieve guarantee.

## II

In practice, by what means and in what forms are the party committee's guarantee and supervision achieved? We have studied the following five aspects.

### 1. A Clear-Cut Division Between Party Works and Enterprise Management

After the reform of the leadership system, the party committee no longer directly intervenes in the plant director's work, such as making decisions on production and operation, administrative command, and rewards and punishments. Dividing party work and enterprise administration, the party committee, by means of assistance, coordination and cooperation, closely combine ideological-political work with administrative work. Specifically, it takes the initiative to render assistance and make suggestions before the plant director makes a decision, coordinates the relations of the workers' congress and mass organizations with the management in the course of decision making, and cooperates, in the ideological-political aspect, with the management to guarantee, after a decision is made, its smooth implementation. In our experimental unit, the plant director appointed a total of 82 administrative cadres. In line with the four requirements and the principle of both ability and political integrity, the party committee made suggestions and expressed its views, helped the management hold forums in diverse forms, and widely solicited the opinions of the masses. It also helped the plant director interview the 82 cadres individually and earnestly perform the ideological-political work.

### 2. The Party's Organizational and Ideological Constructions

After introducing the plant director responsibility system, we made fairly major changes in our productive and administrative systems. According to the series of products, we formed three production departments and four administrative management offices, and strengthened the production command system. The party committee also appropriately readjusted and strengthened the party branches of the various levels, promptly assigned, in line with the "four requirements," a group of branch secretaries able to cooperate with the administrative cadres and, on the basis of earnestly summarizing the experiences, formulated "Detailed Regulations on the Work of the Party Committee," "Main Points of the Party Committee's Work" and "Detailed Regulations on the Work of the Party Branch," thereby clarifying its responsibilities, norms and criterions.

We also successively held two plant-wide document study classes, organized all party members to study earnestly, improved their understanding and stressed their vanguard and exemplary roles in reform. By means of education, more and more party members are making suggestions and producing plans for the reform, voluntarily assuming responsibilities, bearing the hardships and innovating.

### 3. Worker Participation in Democratic Management

After introducing the plant director responsibility system, the director has become the representative of the legal entity, while the workers are its masters, and their relationship remains that between the "public servant" and the "masters," not one of "employment." Therefore, worker participation in democratic management is an important basis of guarantee and supervision. We must realize that the goal of reform is to improve the productive force. For the workers to have a free hand in promoting the four modernizations and give full play to their intelligence and wisdom in the reform, we must develop the role of the workers' congress, mobilize the masses to appraise and supervise the cadres, and organize them to discuss the major decisions of the enterprise. With the aid of the higher level and through the presidium meeting of the workers' congress, we widely solicited views on the choice of the plant director and, by means of secret recommendations, made public opinion surveys. The workers' congress fully discussed the plant director's speech at his inaugural meeting, proposed the struggle goal of "this year's plan, 3-year program and 7-year conception," and made suggestions on the overall plan of reform and appropriate resolutions. All these profoundly educated the broad worker masses. A worker delegate said: "I first thought that after introducing the plant director responsibility system, the director's power would become greater and ours smaller, but when I look at it now, the responsibilities of our delegates have become heavier."

### 4. The Party's Discipline Inspection Work

One of the functions of the party committee's discipline inspection commission is to assist the committee in rectifying the party style, checking the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and ensuring the enterprise's observance of the laws and regulations of the state and adherence to the socialist orientation. After introducing the plant director responsibility system, some discipline inspection cadres wondered whether strengthening the party discipline would not conflict with "turning loose" the enterprise. The party committee proposed clearly: There must be no demand for perfection on reform measures favorable to production, and provisions favorable to preserving party discipline must be further enforced. Meanwhile, it demanded that the discipline inspection cadres primarily concentrate, in the course of reform, on the party's political discipline, firmly implement its line, principles and policies, and earnestly rectify its style, in order to ensure the smooth progress of reform. On the basis of unifying thinking in conjunction with the practical conditions of the plant, we formulated anew five demands on strengthening party discipline:

- (1) Focus discipline inspection on economic losses resulting from irresponsible bureaucracy.
- (2) Conduct quarterly education of party members on party style and discipline.
- (3) Organize the party members every 6 months to check the implementation of the new "party constitution" and "criteria."
- (4) Inspect every 6 months the implementation of financial and economic disciplines.
- (5) Promptly publicize the exemplary party members in observing discipline and earnestly handle the violators.

## 5. Ideological-Political Work

Only by strengthening ideological-political work and improving the ideological-political qualities of the workers will it be possible to achieve guarantee and supervision. Our plant's demand on ideological-political work during the period of reform consists of "one guarantee and three guides" and "two wealths."

"Guarantee" means that, under the new situation of reform, the role of ideological-political work as a guarantee of economic work must be fully developed. "Three guides" mean that we must perform ideological-political work by political communication, ideological persuasion and action guidance, justly and forcefully propagandize, in diverse forms and according to the actual conditions, the party's line, principles, and policies, earnestly solve the various ideological problems emerging in the reform, and lead the broad worker masses to plunge into the practice of reform. "Two wealths" include spiritual and material wealths, which are actually the embodiment of the socialist spiritual and material civilizations and the struggle goal of the four modernizations program led by the party. Thus, while conducting a systematic socialist and communist education of the workers, we continuously "communicate" promptly the party Central Committee's principles and policies and solve the ideological problems by "persuasion" and reasoning, while the leaders strive to serve as models and "guide" the broad worker masses by their exemplary conduct. We are determined to discard the "Leftist" things of the past and educate the masses with the vivid instances in their lives, thereby effectively improving their awareness and guaranteeing and supervising the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies in the enterprise.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CKRC CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION OPENS IN BEIJING

OW180847 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0843 GMT 15 Apr 85

[Text] Beijing, 15 April (XINHUA)--The Second Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee [CKRC] opened in Beijing this morning, Chairman Wang Kunlun of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee attended the opening ceremony and Vice Chairman Zhu Xuefan presided over it.

At the session, Jia Yibin, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, made a work report: "Carry Forward the Spirit of Reform and Further Bring About a New Situation in the Work of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee." He said: In the past year or so, Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee organizations at various levels have continued to implement the principles of concentrating on serving socialist modernization and laying stress on promoting the reunification of the motherland and have actively participated in the political life of the state and activities of the Patriotic United Front. Thus, new progress has been made in serving the four modernizations, promoting the reunification of the motherland, continuously assisting the Communist Party in implementing government policies, and strengthening the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee ideologically and organizationally. He said: This is the first year in which the reform of the economic structure, with the stress on urban reform, is being carried out in an all-round way. With new tasks facing us in the new situation, the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee should do all its work under the guidance of the guidelines laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and implement the resolutions adopted by the 3d Session of the 6th NPC and the 6th CPPCC National Committee. Focusing our attention on implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy, we should bring our favorable conditions and potentials into full play and arouse the initiative, enthusiasm, and creativeness of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee members and of persons with whom they keep in contact to serve the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. Efforts should be made to further bring about a new situation in the work of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee. Jia Yibin also set specific requirements for work to be done by the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee this year.

Qian Zhangzhao, Zheng Dongguo, Hou Jingru, Sun Yueqi, Zhao Zukang, Peng Qingyuan, and Li Ganliu, vice chairmen of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, were present at the opening ceremony. Attending the session were 164 members and alternate members of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEED FOR FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN CADRE SELECTION DISCUSSED

Beijing, LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 2, 7 Jan 85 pp 12-13

[Article by staff commentator: "Continue the Work of Cadre Selection"]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of its 11th party Central Committee, our party has performed outstanding cadre work, and its organizational work during this period has been one of the best since the founding of the nation. In a few short years, we have trained and promoted thousands and tens of thousands of young and middle-aged cadres, are approaching the anticipated goal in building the third echelon, and have made a significant progress in making the cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent.

From 1982 to date, more than 80,000 young cadres have joined the leading groups of the county level and above, producing a major transformation in party and government leaders in age, education and professional competence, dropping the average age of ministers and vice ministers (chairmen and vice chairmen) of the State Council's 41 ministries and commissions from the previous 65.7 to 59.5 and raising the proportion of cadres of college and university level among them from the previous 38 percent to 50 percent; dropping the average age of party standing committee members and governors and vice governors (majors, autonomous regional chairmen and vice chairmen) of the provinces, cities and autonomous regions from the previous 62 to 55 and raising the proportion of cadres of college and university level among them from the previous 20 percent to 43 percent; and dropping the average age of leaders of prefectures, cities, autonomous prefectures, leagues and provincial departments, commissions, offices and bureaus from the previous 58 to 50 and raising the proportion of cadres of college and university level among them from the previous 14 percent to 44 percent. The average age of most party and government leaders of the county level is 42 or 43, and the proportion of cadres of college and university level among them has risen from 30.8 to 45 percent.

Building reserves for the various levels, i.e., the third echelon, was a momentous strategic decision made by the party Central Committee in 1983. Under the party Central Committee's direct guidance in the past year or more, significant achievements have been made. The original plan to select 1,000 cadres for the third echelon of the provincial and departmental levels is now



close to completion. These cadres were selected and promoted on the basis of fully following the mass line and after strict inspection by the party organizations, sifting level by level. Most of this group of cadres are superior younger personnel of fairly good political quality and high educational level, and have made outstanding achievements in their work. Their average age is 43, with the youngest being 27, over 90 percent of them are college and university level, and close to 80 percent possess various professional and technical titles. They include personnel in physics and engineering, agriculture and forestry, finance and economics, political science and law, literature and history, education, and public health. As a whole, the composition is basically rational. The various provinces, cities and autonomous regions and the various ministries and commissions plan to select and promote 30,000 cadres of the prefectural and municipal (departmental, bureau) levels and 100,000 of the county (office) level to the third echelon. Currently, the various areas and branches are actively performing the work and expect completion in the first quarter of this year. With an ample supply of reserve cadres after the third echelon is built, the already qualified young cadres can be promoted at any time to the leading posts of the various levels, thereby further improving the age, educational and professional compositions of the contingents. Many leading cadres and organizational units feel that "with the third echelon on hand, one does not feel flustered."

Not only replacing the old with the new in age, but the large groups of young cadres joining the leadership of the various levels bring with them new methods of thinking and work and improve the quality and enhance the vitality of the leading groups. The significance in this aspect must be fully rated.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, several major changes have occurred in the party's cadre work:

1. The personnel requirements are totally different from the old practices under the "Leftist" line. In those days, personnel were selected according to the requirements of the "class struggle," but now, the worthy and the able are chosen in line with the needs of the four modernizations program and the promotion of reforms. "Emancipating the productive force and creating welfare for society" constitute the criterion of personnel selection in the new period.

2. The personnel concept is undergoing a tremendous change. The four modernizations program and the reforms need large numbers of personnel with willpower and insight, the courage to speak and act and the ability to initiate a new phase rapidly. Many leading cadres and organization and personnel branches are in the course of realizing, or have realized, that the modest, cautious and docile people may not be competent, and that such comments as "conceited," "a penchant to express opinions," "insisting on his own views" and "inexperienced" should no longer be the factors affecting the employment of young cadres. This change in the personnel concept has enabled a large group of competent people, including those with fairly major shortcomings but good essential aspects, the so-called people with "pronounced

strong points but also pronounced shortcomings" (these words themselves are unscientific) to receive serious attention and employment.

3. The consciousness in training and promoting young cadres has greatly risen. Many areas, branches and units have changed their negative attitude of "following the orders of the higher level to 'select the young'" to the positive attitude that "we want to 'select the young.'"

4. "Selecting the young among the old" has changed to "selecting the superior among the young." The field of vision in cadre training and selection is shifting toward the younger people. The aging cycle of the leading groups of certain areas, branches and units is in the course of changing, and the progress of making the entire cadre contingent younger is gradually accelerating.

Our achievements in cadre work are doubtlessly significant. However, in terms of the requirements of the four modernizations program, we are not progressing fast enough. Currently, the conditions of the leading groups of the various levels and the cadre ranks are, in many aspects, incompatible with the formidable tasks shouldered by our party. Therefore, we must continue the effort to train and promote young cadres and be more successful. We must, according to the "four requirements" on cadres, continue and actively transform the compositions of the leading groups of the various levels and boldly promote the better-educated, young, creative and fast-thinking cadres to leadership posts. Building the third echelon is not for the purpose of fulfilling the need of the moment, but a long-term task. Today, as we are in the special historical phase of the young replacing the old, we have to do a crash job, but must shift to regularization and systematization in the future. If we make one effort and stop, or stop and go off and on, and fail to make it into a system and a long-term sustained effort, the difficulties in the cadre issue today may possibly reappear in the future future.

To properly train and select young cadres, we must, first of all, continue to purge the "Leftist" influence in cadre work, correct the existing problem of scorning knowledge and talent, and further implement the intellectual policy. In choosing cadres, it is necessary to give attention to academic background and professional ability, in order to recruit large groups of intellectuals with professional competency into the cadre ranks and leadership posts, thereby producing a historical transformation of the educational and professional compositions. Naturally, we must intensify our understanding. The intellectuals are strong either in management or in profession. Retaining those strong in profession but deficient in management at professional posts, where they will develop a greater impact, is preferable to assigning them to leadership and management work. We must guard against the harmful practice of relying on diplomas only, and give serious attention to real ability and learning and make overall assessments.

Next, we must further transform our personnel concept and discover talents yet dormant and unknown. We have selected and promoted large groups of superior personnel, but, due to the restrictions of the old concepts, cadre

system and work method, we have failed to recognize many outstanding and competent people. Once the concept transforms, many previously unknown talents will emerge before us, and their strong points which have been prejudicially regarded as weaknesses will shine out. Of course, the principle of personnel employment in the new period must undergo a cognitive course, but we must understand it, and understand it in a fairly short time.

We must further reform the cadre system, improve the method of cadre evaluation and make cadre work scientific. In line with the principle of "less, better and flexible control," we should appropriately delegate to the lower level some of the personnel management power, strictly fulfill the party Central Committee's provisions on abolishing the life tenure of leaders and implementing the retirement system, gradually initiate the term system, generally introduce the system of selecting and appointing village and town cadres, and so forth. These reform measures will certainly promote the emergence of talents in large numbers and accelerate the renewal rate of the ranks. The cadre system must gradually shift from the closed model of organs to the open model of society, the method of cadre evaluation must change from the experiential to the scientific, and the organization and personnel branches must strive to become personnel information centers. Selecting and training large groups of young cadres indeed require many experts who can identify them, but the spirit of promoting the able must be absorbed into the cadre system and made systematic, thereby truly achieving, without restriction to any one pattern, the discovery, selection and promotion of cadres with their own special skills and abilities.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

WANG RENZHONG, OTHERS SEE STONE SCULPTURES SHOW

OW180021 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1604 GMT 15 Apr 85

[By reporter Zhou Jingping]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 15 April (XINHUA)--Starting today, people in Beijing can see Dazu stone sculptures, renowned both at home and abroad, at an exhibition in the China Fine Arts Hall.

Known as the village of stone sculputres, Dazu County is located in the southeastern part of Sichuan Province. The art of Dazu stone sculptures began in the late Tang Dynasty, developed through the period of the Five Dynasties, and attained its height in the Southern Song Dynasty. Now there are more than 50,000 stone sculptures scattered on Baoding Shan and Bei Shan in the county. The present exhibition shows 204 large color pictures and 22 replicas of the fine workd selected from among these sculptures.

Wang Renzhong, Zhang Aiping, Tong Xiaopeng, Yang Guoyu, Li Mohan, Liu Kaiqu, and Liao Mosha visited the exhibition in great delight. Zhang Aiping wrote an inscription for the exhibition. The inscription read: "The art of China."

The exhibition is jointly sponsored by the Administrative Bureau of Museums and Archeological Data under the Ministry of Culture, the China Fine Arts Hall, the Chongqing City Culture Bureau, the Sichuan Fine Arts Institute, and the Dazu County Stone Sculpture Art Museum. It will close on 2 May.

CSO: 4005/833

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC MARKS CPPCC MEMBER ISRAEL EPSTEIN'S BIRTHDAY

OW200800 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 20 Apr 85

[Text] Beijing 20 April (XINHUA)--Beijing papers today praise Israel Epstein as an outstanding reporter and writer of our times, a loyal friend of the Chinese people and a staunch internationalist fighter.

Articles and an interview carried by GUANGMING DAILY and PEOPLE'S DAILY mark his 70th birthday, which falls today.

Epstein was born in Poland and came to China at the age of 2. He has been working in China as a reporter and editor for more than 50 years. He became a Chinese citizen in 1979.

He has used his pen for more than a half century to report on China to foreign countries. He threw himself heart and soul into China's revolution and construction, says Gao Liang, a bureau chief of the Propaganda Department under the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

Through his articles, Gao says, Epstein linked the efforts of the Chinese people with those of other countries and his great sincerity linked him with the Chinese people and the people of the whole world.

Epstein's sterling quality is particularly shown by his firm confidence in the Chinese revolution although he was subjected to injustice and wrongs during the 10-year "Cultural Revolution." He was jailed for 5 years in that period.

Epstein also contributed to the human advance by his whole-hearted news work which was objective and clear of exaggeration, says Luo Jun, who worked with Epstein since the 50s.

Since Epstein became chief editor of the CHINA RECONSTRUCTION in 1951 at the invitation of Soong Ching-ling, honorary president of the People's Republic of China, the original English monthly has now become an influential journal published in English and six other languages. [Words indistinct] circulates in more than 140 countries and regions.

In recent years, especially since he became a Standing Committee member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1983, Epstein has shown an even more livelier interest in state affairs and publicizing China overseas.

For an example, Luo Jun says, 2 days after the funeral ceremony of his wife last September, Epstein went to Wuhan City to take part in an academic symposium on Agnes Smedley, who had been one of his comrades-in-arms.

In an interview with the PEOPLE'S DAILY, Epstein said that it was the Chinese people who brought him up, educated him and gave him the opportunity to serve the people. This endowed his life with rich significance. "I love China and the Chinese people and China is my home," he said, adding that he was particularly happy to celebrate his 70th birthday in Beijing.

A special meeting in the great hall of the people this afternoon will honor Epstein's birthday.

CSO: 4000/197

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ISRAEL EPSTEIN'S SPEECH AT BIRTHDAY RECEPTION

OW201636 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 20 Apr 85

[Text] Beijing, 20 April (XINHUA)--Following is the full text of a speech delivered by Israel Epstein, a Polish-born Chinese journalist, at a reception marking his 70th birthday here today.

Dear friends and comrades: I can only thank you from the bottom of my heart for this celebration and for the kind things said about me--among which a few may be merited, but most of which are far beyond what I deserve.

For whatever I have achieved in life and work, the credit goes to China, the Chinese people and their great revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party. The tides of our century of world change brought me among them, and it was they who nurtured me, educated me and gave me the opportunity for service--in other words gave broad meaning to my life. On a personal scale, it was here, through devotion to a common goal that I met my dear wife, companion and comrade of 40 years, Elsie Cholmeley, who unfortunately is no longer living, and here that we adopted two Chinese children, who have in turn given us grand-children.

Following the British, American and French revolutions of the previous 2 centuries, the Chinese revolution was a great watershed in the fight against feudalism and for national liberation. And following was the Russian October Socialist Revolution of 1917, which was a great watershed in the advance to a new system--socialism. This, like all other new things, must make its way through trial and error and experimentation. Through my own origins and education I absorbed the influence of those earlier revolutions and through life experience was able to live and work amid China's revolution and new building. I can think of no greater joy. I have just come from a series of trips in different parts of the country, and what I have seen confirms this feeling.

I recall the great and inspiring leaders of the Chinese revolution whom it was my good fortune to know--Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Soong Chi [indistinct] and others--all of whom did much to put me on the path of truth. I recall countless other comrades who moved me by their words or often silent example--workers, peasants and soldiers as well as intellectuals, and of course my working colleagues. And here in this hall there are many with whom life brought me together at various times and who helped shape me, including my co-workers in CHINA RECONSTRUCTS.

I think back with gratitude to those no longer living, and thank most heartily those of you who are here, dear friends, dear comrades.

I have confidence that China's youth of today, under different circumstances and with greater advantages than the older generations, will carry forward in fitting new ways the great cause that their elders pioneered when they themselves were young. We must help the youth.

I have no more to say except that in the years left me I shall try to contribute more than I have hitherto to the progress and prosperity of the Chinese people, to making their work, problems and achievements known among people of other countries--whom I have also known and loved--to the growth of friendship and equality among all peoples and to the great cause of socialism and communism.

Thank you.  
Israel Epstein

CSO: 4000/197



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

XINHUA DESCRIBES PRC LIBRARY SYSTEM'S EXPANSION

OW201224 Beijing XINHUA in English 0858 GMT 20 Apr 85

[XINHUA headline--"Much More Room to Read"]

[Text] Beijing, 20 April (XINHUA)--China now has more than 300,000 libraries--1,000 times more than in 1949 when New China was founded--with 800 million books, according to a national library equipment sales exhibition which opened here today.

[Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese at 1222 GMT on 20 April transmits a related report, which adds, "Yan Jici, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, attended the opening ceremony" of the exhibition.]

Most of the libraries are public-owned or attached to institutes of higher learning, research institutes, primary and middle schools and trade unions, said organizers of the exhibition at the Cultural Palace of Nationalities.

The state, provinces, cities and counties run 2,217 libraries containing 249 million books, and almost all the 46,000 cultural centers in rural towns and urban neighborhoods have reading rooms.

In addition, there are 46 children's libraries in provinces, cities, counties and urban districts, and nearly half of the county- or district-run libraries have children's reading rooms.

The 3-week exhibition is being held by the Library Administrative Bureau of the Ministry of Culture, the China Society of Library Science, the National Beijing Library and the Library of Minorities to provide better equipment for the growing number of libraries.

On display are 1,000 modern items of library equipment, including book and magazine shelves, furniture and catalog filing systems.

CSO: 4000/197

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHINA LAUNCHES SURVEYS ON CHILDREN'S HEALTH

OW241132 Beijing XINHUA in English 1054 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] Beijing, 24 April (XINHUA)--China has just launched two surveys on children's physical development, the Ministry of Public Health announced today.

Both surveys started this month and will be concluded in November.

One survey involving 200,000 urban children up to 7 years old is under way in Beijing, Shanghai, and the capital cities of Heilongjiang, Shaanxi, Hubei, Jiangsu, Guangdong, Fujian and Yunnan Provinces. It is the first since 1975, when the first survey of young people under 17 years old was held in the same nine cities.

The other survey is taking place in the rural areas of Jilin, Shanxi, Gansu, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Hunan, Guizhou and Sichuan Provinces, as well as Xianjiang and Guangxi.

Similar surveys will be held every 10 years, according to the Ministry of Public Health.

The 1975 Survey report showed that 6-year-old boys in the city of Beijing were 4.3 cm taller and 1.31 kg heavier than in 1947, and 9-year-old boys in the Jiangsu provincial capital of Nanjing were 8.2 cm taller and 2.8 kg heavier than in 1936.

These figures basically conform to the common view that the average growth of children increased by 1 centimeter every 10 years.

CSO: 4000/197

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

FORMER CHAIRMAN WORKS PUBLISHED--Beijing, 15 April (XINHUA)--The selected works of Dong Biwu, former acting chairman of the People's Republic, went on sale today at XINHUA bookstores across the country. Dong (1886-1875), was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party. The selected works cover 57 of his speeches and articles from 1926 to 1965. The book, compiled by an editing group under the guidance of the Communist Party Literature Research Center, includes 22 speeches or articles published for the first time. Some of these suggest ways of improving the organization of people's congresses to guarantee democracy and freedom. The former acting chairman, also a jurist, stressed the importance of establishing a people's democratic legal system. The book also shows Dong's concern over the work of the United Front, afforestation and improvements in living standards. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1414 GMT 15 Apr 85 OW]

STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER DIES--Beijing, 18 April (XINHUA)--Li Bozhao, a veteran communist and Standing Committee member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference National Committee, died of a heart attack at the age of 74 here yesterday. She was one of China's leading drama educators and playwrights, with a number of operas to her credit. Born in Chongqing, Sichuan Province, in 1911, she went to study in Moscow in 1925 and engaged in the workers' movement after her return in 1930. She was also a veteran of the historic long march of 1934. When she was seriously ill, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, Deng Yingchao and other party and state leaders went to see her in the hospital. Premier Zhao Ziyang and Marshals Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen expressed condolences over her death. Her husband, Yang Shangkun, member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, kept vigil at her bedside when she was in a critical condition. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1847 GMT 18 Apr 85 OW]

KUOMINTANG SESSION CLOSES--Beijing, 19 April (XINHUA)--The Second Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of one of China's democratic parties, the Chinese Kuomintang (RCCK), closed here today. A resolution approved at today's closing meeting calls on RCCK members and organizations at all levels to work more assiduously to tap their potentials and further expand their contacts with prominent personalities in Taiwan, Macao, Hong Kong and foreign countries. They should make greater contributions to the consolidation and expansion of the United Front and to the reunification of the motherland, the resolution says. It was decided to hold the RCCK National

Congress next year. Jia Yibin was elected chairman of the Executive Bureau, and Peng Ginyuan, vice-chairman; nine members were also elected to the Sixth Central Committee at today's session. Yuan Xiaoyuan, who abandoned her U.S. citizenship to return to the motherland, was made an advisor to the RCCK's Central Standing Committee. Speaking at today's session, which was attended by 124 members, were RCCK Chairman Wang Kunlun and Vice-Chairmen Qu Wu and Qian Changzhao. Vice-chairman Zheng Dongguo chaired today's closing ceremony. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1434 GMT 19 Apr 84 OW]

SUPPORT FOR FRONTIER WORK--Beijing, 20 April (XINHUA)--Beijing Municipal Government is drawing up policies to give favorable treatment to college graduates who volunteer to work in border regions, Mayor Chen Xitong said on Friday. He was addressing a meeting attended by representatives of Beijing's graduating college students. Chen praised graduates, as well as scientists and technicians, who have volunteered to work in border regions, describing them as being "devoted," "patriotic" and as having "lofty ideals." Every Beijing citizen should support the development of other parts of the country, especially the remote and less-developed border areas, he said. At the meeting, officials from Gansu, Qinghai, Ningxia and Xinjiang gave a brief account of local conditions in their regions, and welcomed the graduating students to work in North-Western China. More than 1,600 college graduates from Beijing have volunteered to work in 10 border areas over the past 2 years, today's BEIJING DAILY reported. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0913 GMT 20 Apr 85 OW]

5-GOOD FAMILY MEETING--A national meeting for exchanging the experience of the Five-Good Families opened in Hangzhou on 16 April. On behalf of the provincial Party Committee and the provincial government, Wang Fang, secretary of the provincial Party Committee, extended warm greetings to the meeting at its opening ceremony. Comrade Wang Fang reviewed the work of launching the Five-Good Family activity in Zhejiang in recent years. Wang Qingshu, secretary of the Secretariat of the All-China Women's Federation, addressed the opening ceremony. She said: Remarkable achievements have been made in the Five-Good Family activity launched by the All-China Women's Federation throughout the country since the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. As of the end of last year, over 20 million families in the country had been selected and commended as Five-Good Families. [Excerpts] [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 16 Apr 85 OW]

CSO: 4005/833

EAST REGION

ISSUES OF LIFESTYLE DISCUSSED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE /SOCIAL SCIENCES/ in Chinese No 2, 15 Feb 85 pp 27-29

/Article by Wu Yunpu /0702 0061 3302/: "Some Questions on Lifestyle"

/Text/ Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, with the implementation of the policy to relax restrictions toward the outside world and enliven the domestic economy, changes have begun to occur in people's lifestyles. 0 y 8 years ago, questions of lifestyle were a forbidden area of discussion and study. At that time, there was only criticism of the "capitalist lifestyle," but no probing or pursuit of new socialist lifestyles. Now the 3d Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee has formally written up a "Resolution" on this question, so that we may now freely discuss this question.

I. What Is Lifestyle?

In the past, there was no unified definition of lifestyle. Marx and Engels discussed this question, but they did not form a definition. They said, "The modes people use to produce the means of livelihood above all depend on the intrinsic qualities of the means of livelihood they obtain ready-made or that require reproduction. The mode of production should not merely be studied from the angle of reproduction in the physical existence of the individual. To a greater degree it is a given mode of activity for these individuals, expressed as a given form of living and a given lifestyle. How individuals express their lives is how they are themselves. Thus, what they are is identical with their production--both identical with what they produce and with how they produce it. Therefore, what individuals are depends on the material conditions in which they carry out production." ("German Formation of Will and Consciousness")

From this passage by Marx and Engels we can make out that the meaning of "lifestyle" as they discuss it is rather broad: a given lifestyle is a given "mode of activity" and a "given form of living," "identical" to what people produce and how they produce it. In other words, a given lifestyle is an expression of a given mode of production and social system in people's lives.

At present, the understanding of "lifestyle" in China's theoretical realm has not been summed up completely, but we have the following:

1. "This so-called lifestyle is essentially the mode by which consumers can enjoy the use of the means of subsistence." (WEN HUI BAO article, 21 September 1984.)
2. "There is a given mode for people to enjoy the use of material and service consumer goods and the free time they have arranged for themselves, which is called lifestyle." ("A General Knowledge Reader for the Socialist Economic Drive" /SHEHUIZHUYI JINGJI JIANSHE CHANGSHI DUBEN/, ch 20.)
3. "Because the end result of people using material and spiritual means of subsistence is what determines the content, composition and attitude toward life, it is called lifestyle." (Article by Deng Weizhi /6772 0251 1807/, JIEFANG RIBAO, 21 December 1984.)
4. Lifestyle includes people's working life, consuming life and spiritual life (in this is also included political life, scientific and artistic life and religious life) and it exists in every type of ethical relationship in spiritual life. (See Yu Guangyuan /0060 0342 6678/: "The Socialist Drive, the Concept of Lifestyle and Value and People's Growth to Maturity," ZHONGGUO SHEHUI KEXUE, No 4, 1981.)

Of these four different understandings of the question of "lifestyle," the first three place it outside of the question of "what people produce and how they produce it." The fourth makes the working life and political life a component of lifestyle and considers them to have "a direct connection with the social system," which makes it fairly close to Marx and Engel's statement.

When discussing this question, the discussion in the "Resolution" of the 3d Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee should be an important brief. The "Resolution" points out that "at the same time that a lively and vital socialist economic system is founded, we should work hard to create throughout society a lifestyle that is suited to the needs of developing modernized forces of production and social progress and which is civilized, healthy and scientific and rid of backward, ignorant and decadent things." It should not only be civilized, healthy and scientific while people are enjoying the means of subsistence, their own free time and in activities outside of material production, but it should penetrate into the course of people's social life, economic life, political life, consumer life and spiritual life and all of a person's behavior. If we come to this understanding, then I believe that a given society's lifestyle would be the mode of behavior of a given society's people. This mode of behavior includes "what people produce and how they produce it," which is to say it is an expression of a given mode of production and social system in people's behavior.

The lifestyle of a given society can be studied in its macroscopic, medioscopic and microscopic aspects. Generally speaking, in a society, the lifestyle of the economic system that holds sway and the class that occupies a dominant position is the main stream lifestyle of that society. For example, when we talk about the capitalist lifestyle, this means the dominant lifestyle under the capitalist system, not the lifestyle of working people in a capitalist society, both of which are bourgeois lifestyles. This is studying it from a macroscopic angle. If we study it from a medioscopic or microscopic angle, then the lifestyles of every social stratum and each individual would have its special characteristics.

Yet the lifestyles of each social stratum and individual cannot help being influenced and conditioned by the lifestyle that holds sway throughout the entire society.

## II. Why Pay Attention to Lifestyle?

Every society and every era has its lifestyle. The current rise in study of lifestyle in China shows that the whole society is paying attention to the question of lifestyle and that its significance is extremely farreaching. This is because:

### 1. The reform of lifestyle is often the precursor to social reform.

Social change often begins with lifestyle and is always subordinate to the needs of the political economy of that place and time. During the Revolution of 1911, the people's need to cut their queues was so intense that it aroused their national consciousness and mobilized the people to overthrow the rule of the Manchu landlord class. This kind of mobilization is often more effective than an ordinary propaganda campaign.

In the era of socialism, changes in lifestyle are an important indicator of change. Several years ago, wearing Western dress was actually seen as an exotic costume, while now it is gradually becoming popular throughout China. In the West, they have a saying, "Fashion is a renegade, which has never known any law." With the evolution of society, including the lifestyle changes inherent in fashion, it cannot be resisted.

### 2. The reform of lifestyle is an indicator of socialist production goals and the high degree of people's attention.

Socialist production goals, which are based on production development, constantly satisfy the daily increasing requirements of people's material culture. Their manifestations receive a high degree of people's attention. These production goals can only be expressed through a given lifestyle. Engels stated that a person's life goals should not only be to struggle to live, but also to struggle for enjoyment and struggle for development (see "The Complete Works of Marx and Engels," ch 34, p 163). "Through planned use and progressive development of existing large forces of production, under conditions where everyone must work, the means of subsistence, the means of enjoyment and development and the means to express all physical and intellectual needs will return to all of society's members, to be allocated equally and more fully" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," ch 1, p 331.) A socialist society should first resolve people's problems of existence, which means getting enough to eat and wear, and next fulfill people's requirements for enjoyment and development. This becomes a question of reforming lifestyle. The existence of the "new 3 years, old 3 years, sew and mend another 3 years) lifestyle was completely appropriate under low level production forces, in an era when people were still struggling for enough to eat and wear, and if we should look on it as history today, there is no need to scorn it. However, after production forces have developed and people have resolved the problem of getting enough to eat and wear, this lifestyle cannot satisfy people's needs for enjoyment and development. To still rigidly

adhere to that lifestyle would inevitably lead to running counter to socialist production goals and ignoring the people. This does not conform to the nature of socialism. Naturally, this is certainly not to say that we can neglect the fine tradition of arduous struggle and building up the country through thrift and hard work; it is only to say that with the development of production, we should satisfy people's needs for the means of enjoyment and development as far as possible.

3. The reform of lifestyle has a motive effect on the material civilization drive.

Consumption is certainly not a negative activity. On the contrary, production and consumption go together. Marx said, "Without production there would be no consumption, yet without consumption there would be no production, for if this were so, there would be no purpose in production." ("Introduction to the 'Critique of Political Economy'") Many years in the past, we actually paid little attention to consumption and often considered it as negative behavior, so that it was practically confused with extravagance. Because little attention was paid to consumption, it failed to play an intermediary role in production. With the reform of lifestyle, "being able to earn and spend" will stimulate consumption, which will create tremendous motivation for the development of production. Therefore, in purely economic terms, the reform of lifestyle has an important motive effect on the material civilization drive.

Naturally, the reform of lifestyle not only promotes the connection between production and consumption within the material civilization drive, but lifestyle itself becomes an important part of spiritual civilization. A civilized, healthy, scientific lifestyle reflects a positive, progressive, enterprising spiritual condition, which also promotes material civilization in great measure.

### III. What Type of Lifestyle Should We Establish?

Based on the discussion in the "Resolution" of the 3d Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the lifestyle we establish should:

1. Be suited to the needs of developing modernized production forces and social progress.

With the development of modernized production forces, changes in the mode of production will inevitably arise. The mode of production in the period of natural economy was "every day go out and work, every day come home and rest; to drink, dig a well, to eat, plow the fields." This type of lifestyle lacks practically any sense of time, only that of "every day going out" and "every day coming home." This sense of time is miles away from a modernized society with highly developed production forces. As with modernized production, the rhythm of modern life is always quickening. They say that the fastest walkers in the world are the people of Osaka, Japan, at 1.6 meters per second. Tokyo and Nagano are next, with New Yorkers in fourth place, at 1.51 meters per second. Another example is that the State Council decided that beginning on New Year's Day of this year, the official noon break (including lunch time) would be 1 hour. This reform will necessarily bring about a series of changes in lifestyle: people cannot



form line after line at dining halls to eat, so the service trades in particular will have to speed up food service tremendously. With working couples unable to go home and cook at noon, a huge number of elementary and middle schools students will suddenly have to solve the problem of getting lunch, which will require that convenience foods increase tremendously, while the "small eats" establishments will be required to process their supply of nonstaple foods as well as possible, so that their customers can cook them very quickly after purchase. The amount of calories people take in must obviously increase, to give them energy to continue work, and this will bring about further changes in food composition, such as a big increase in the meat supply.... Carrying out the 1-hour noon break is not just one small reform, because it will bring about a series of changes in lifestyle and even in production and circulation. This shows that with the development of modernized production forces, the changes brought about in lifestyle will be extremely far-reaching and profound.

Reforming the mode of production should suit the needs of social progress. If international and interpersonal contacts do not flourish, it is a reflection that the commodity economy is not flourishing. In an era of natural economy, social progress is figured in terms of the century. In a modernized society with a highly-developed commodity economy, greatly increased international and interpersonal contacts and more rapid information transmission and replacement of knowledge, the course of social progress is speeded up enormously. The current prices of stocks in London can affect Hong Kong and the entire world in a matter of seconds. Human knowledge doubled every 50 years in the 19th century, while at present the doubling time has been reduced to 3 years. The "information explosion" indicates social progress. "Just 7 days in the cave and already 1,000 years in the world" was just mythical language in the past, but now it is already a reality. In this era, it clearly will not do to follow the beaten path in terms of lifestyle. The party's policy of enlivening the domestic economy and relaxing restrictions toward the outside world has brought about both social progress and, inevitably, changes in lifestyle.

The major implication of social progress in China is that since China is a socialist society, social progress is a socialist development that follows the socialist road upward step by step. Our lifestyle should be suited to socialist social progress and to a distinctively Chinese socialism. This is the basic area of difference between our lifestyle and that of the Western nations. Some comrades bring up the concept of a "modern lifestyle," but this concept neglects the different social systems and makes it difficult to summarize the particular qualities of a lifestyle suited to the needs of China's socialist social progress. As a matter of fact, modernized nations with different social systems cannot have a common "modern lifestyle."

Naturally, this definitely does not exclude the mutual assimilation of lifestyles that are in accord with modern needs by modern nations with different social systems or nations now being modernized. In terms of lifestyle, nations that have closed their doors and are blindly opposed to everything foreign are also not in accord with the trend of the times.

2. Be civilized, healthy and scientific. This type of lifestyle is in opposition to all things backward, ignorant and decadent.

The five stresses, four beauties and three ardent loves are the embodiment of today's civilized, healthy, scientific lifestyle. But a strong phenomenon exists right now, which is that some people become extremely indignant when young people who dance and wear jeans are mentioned, but they turn a blind eye to gambling and feudalistic or superstitious activities. This strange phenomenon reveals that in some people's heads they make no clear distinction between what is civilized, healthy and scientific and what is backward, ignorant and decadent and even use backward, ignorant and decadent things to oppose a civilized, healthy and scientific lifestyle. Backwardness, ignorance and decadence are the soil that produces "leftist" influences. To eradicate "leftist" influences, we must struggle against all things backward, ignorant and decadent.

3. Inspire a positive, progressive and enterprising spirit and overcome those forces of habit that are content with things as they are, mentally lazy, fearful of change and that stick to convention.

Spiritual condition has a very close connection with lifestyle. Being content with things as they are, being mentally lazy, being fearful of change and sticking to convention are force of habit and are the spiritual condition, mode of thinking and lifestyle of the small peasant under conditions of feudalistic, patriarchal natural economy. These are the "genes" that produce "leftist" influences.

Changes in lifestyle will require changes in modes of thinking. Outmoded thinking cannot adapt to changes in lifestyle. For example, in the past, when we spread propaganda that certain citizens abroad were intensely patriotic and did not wish to live in a capitalist society, we often said they felt that in a capitalist society work, jobs and living were too tense, so they thought of the easy life in China and decided to return. This propaganda gave people the mistaken impression that if socialist society was not necessarily tense, then it must be lax and undisciplined. This propaganda itself was a reflection of the "common pot" mentality and failed to reflect the superiority of the socialist system. On the contrary, to realize a quadrupling, our work, jobs and lives should all become more intense. This intensity is different from capitalist society's, for the former is the tension of self-conscious mastery of society, while the latter is the tension of constraining the exploited. To promote an intense lifestyle, we must overcome mental states and modes of thinking that are content with things as they are and mentally lazy.

Involvement in probing the relationship between mental states, modes of thinking and lifestyles is an important problem, which has major significance for the formation of a civilized, healthy, scientific lifestyle.

Modes of production, modes of thinking and lifestyle form a large system in human social life. Studying modes of production is the task of political economy, studying modes of thinking is the task of philosophy and studying lifestyle is now a branch of sociology. In fact, lifestyle itself is a science, requiring special investigation. There is a good deal of investigation of lifestyle in the writings of Marx and Engels. In his "The State of the English Working Class," Engels gave an extremely profound explanation of the lifestyle of English workers in the first half of the 19th century. In China's antiquity,

there was also quite a bit written on lifestyle, in the works of Confucius and other thinkers. These have an important effect on our study of the problem of lifestyle, in terms of inspiration and lessons to be drawn. We should continue this legacy, while integrating it into the course of China's socialist modernization drive, and strengthen our study of the problem of lifestyle, in order to promote the formation and development of a civilized, healthy, scientific lifestyle particular to China's society, making it a tremendous force for promoting economic reform and material civilization.

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CSO: 4005/687

EAST REGION

SHANGHAI RECRUITS PERSONNEL THROUGH DIVERSE CHANNELS

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 2, 7 Jan 85 pp 16-17

[Article by Guo Lihua [6753 4409 5478]: "Shanghai Selects Personnel Through Nine Channels"]

[Text] At a recent visit to the organization department of the Shanghai municipal party committee, the reporter discovered the wealth of its personnel information. Lists of superior youths and copies of cadre evaluations arrived in an endless stream. It was an encouraging scene resulting from the effort of the department to implement reform and, in its organization works, open the closed model of organs to society.

After September 1983, the department's young cadres office, opening wide the channels, discovered from the various fronts throughout the city 968 young and middle-aged talents of all types. After earnest evaluation, 103 were selected and included in the reserve lists of party and government branches of the various levels.

According to the comrades of the department, almost 50 percent of them are under age 35, 35 percent have performed leadership work of the section level and above, and 69 percent are of college and university level or above. They made fairly good manifestations during the "Cultural Revolution," have firmly followed the party line since the 3d Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee, and are fast in thinking and high in pioneering spirit.

The department's young cadres office locates young and middle-aged personnel through nine channels:

1. Recommendation by Prominent Figures in Society. With their deep and broad experiences, the prominent figures in society are expert in recognizing talents. The young cadres office successively invited, in three groups, 45 respected veteran cadres, experts and professors to recommend young and middle-aged talents. Dissatisfied with the ruthless persecution of old cadres in the early stage of the "Cultural Revolution," a young man recommended by veteran comrades printed and posted many handbills in their defense. Labeled an "active counterrevolutionary" at 15 years of age and placed under supervised labor in the neighborhood, he was not rehabilitated until after the fall of the "gang of four." To make up for the lost years, he studied assiduously and passed in flying colors the entrance test to the Huadong Political Science and Law College. After graduation, he was selected

to join the young cadres training class sponsored by the department. Today, he serves as the assistant departmental chief.

2. Discovering and Selecting Personnel in Research and Decision Making Organs. Setting their sight on the city's economic research center, new technological revolution countermeasure group, Academy of Social Sciences and institutions of higher education, they selected personnel with the ability to make macrocosmic studies of the strategic orientation of Shanghai's economic development as a whole.

3. Selecting Leaders in Economic Entities. Among the plant directors and managers of the city's large key enterprises and collective industries, they selected a group of young and middle-aged cadres for the third echelon. Fast in thinking and assiduous in studying technology, a 33-year old assistant plant director in the city's coking plant possesses a fairly wide range of knowledge. In 1983, he served as a member of the enterprise management lecturers' group of the China Scientific and Technological Association and trained teachers for the party school's enterprise management class. Full of dedication, he planned to make the coking plant into a first-rate modern industry among its sister plants in the country within 1 or 2 years. Today, he has been promoted as a leading cadre in economic planning.

4. Selecting Cadres among the Advanced and Exemplary Figures. Setting up personnel bases in such mass organizations as the city's general labor union and women's federation, the selected young people with innovative courage and leadership abilities among the city's exemplary party members, labor models, shock workers of the new Long March, and "8 March" redbanner pacesetters.

5. Discovering Talents in Large-Scale Mass Activities. They discovered talents among the active elements in such large-scale mass activities as "Make China Strong" reading and lecturing and "Serve Technological Innovation."

6. Discovering Talents in Units with Large Numbers of Intellectuals. They successively discovered a group of young people in economics, finance and trade, and politics and law in Fudan University, Huadong Political Science and Law College, Shanghai Finance and Economics College, Shanghai Foreign Trade College, Shanghai Social Science College and scientific research units. They have preliminarily built a personnel information network to include 50 institutions of higher learning in the city. Besides selecting superior current graduates, they asked the schools to recommend former graduates and provide information on their whereabouts, and selected personnel by tracing them and entrusting others for their evaluation.

7. Choosing Young Cadres in the CYL System. Lining up and inspecting CYL committee secretaries of city and county levels and above, they selected a group of trainees of good quality, strong ability and high potential.

8. Discovering Talents in the United Front System. United front work is linked with the various strata in society, and achieving unification of the

country and expanding contact with the outside need a large number of people, who support the party's leadership and dedicate themselves to the socialist motherland, to perform work connected with foreign affairs. They took the initiative to contact the municipal party committee's united front department, overseas Chinese affairs office and minorities commission to look for personnel among Taiwan compatriots, overseas Chinese and minorities.

9. Asking Young People To Recommend Their Own. Contemporaries know one another best. "Rolling a snowball," they organized and earnestly evaluated and discovered young people into a "seed team" and asked them to recommend superior young people well known to them.

Zhang Xumin [1728 1645 2404], chief of the young cadres office, informed the reporter: "Our reform of organizational work is merely a beginning. In the future, we plan to deepen and broaden the channels, form a personnel information network, build a talent resource treasury and rationally employ the young people, so that they can make the best use of their talents and skills."

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CSO: 4005/557

EAST REGION

#### ZHEJIANG INTRODUCES SCIENTIFIC CADRE EVALUATION

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 2, 7 Jan 85 p 18

[Article by Huang Guowen [7806 0948 2429]: "Zhejiang Experimentally Introduces Quantitative Evaluation of Cadres"]

[Text] By means of system analyses and computer technology, Zhejiang's organization and personnel branch makes scientific appraisals by combining qualitative and quantitative evaluations to determine the cadres' qualities, attracting the attention of many quarters in society.

The four modernizations program needs thousands and tens of thousands of superior managerial personnel. Thus, the cadre management systems and methods must be scientific and modern for the extensive, timely and accurate selection of cadres and exploitation of human resources. However, one major flaw is found in China's current cadre management: There is only qualitative, but not quantitative, evaluation, and basically cadre selection depends on the experiential judgment or will of a small number of leaders. When assessing the work ability of a cadre, for instance, there are often only such comments as "fairly strong," "fairly weak," and so on. As for how strong or how weak, there is no standard. When two cadres both have "fairly strong abilities," there is no way to compare which one is stronger, and we can only rely on the experience of the higher-level leaders to make the judgment. Meanwhile, the personal qualities, experiences and field of vision of the leaders are, after all, limited. Therefore, it is difficult for such cadre management method to discover and evaluate personnel by spanning a broad range and transcending the steps.

To remedy the flaw, it is highly necessary to change the cadre management method from "experiential" to "scientific." Zhejiang's organization and personnel branch was enlightened by the practice of applying personnel functional appraisal to enterprise personnel management followed by the developed countries in the world, and proposed the application of modern scientific theories and technologies, such as systems, information and control theories, management psychology, fuzzy mathematics and electronic computer, in order to make cadre management more objective, broader in the field of vision, greater in the amount of information and higher in efficiency, and build the organization and personnel branch into a personnel information handling system which can scientifically collect, relay, store and handle

cadre information and make correct decisions according to the results. They also proposed that, to attain this goal, primarily the method of cadre evaluation must be reformed and the unitary qualitative evaluation changed to the combined qualitative and quantitative evaluation. In other words, such qualities as a cadre's ethics, talent, intelligence and achievements are converted into substances perceptually reflected in numerals for computer handling, analysis and comparison.

This year, Zhejiang's organization and personnel branch evaluated and analyzed, by means of the cadre appraisal method, some 300 cadres of 16 units, including the provincial tourism bureau, Hangzhou city housing management bureau and Hangzhou rubber plant, and obtained preliminary results. Referring to the experiences of sister units and the opinions of experts concerned and after repeated revisions, they compiled a "Criterion for Cadre Appraisal." It divides the cadres' qualities into four major parts, namely, political quality, education, ability and efficiency, and each part is subdivided into 10 elements, such as dedication, adherence to principles, competitiveness, honesty and tenacity. Each element is classified into five levels, from superior to poor, and each level into three grades, high, medium and low. Thereafter, an appraisal network is organized: First, the cadre under appraisal evaluates himself according to the "Criterion." Then, multilevel appraisals are made by his own and higher and lower levels and the organization branch familiar with him, like the multiple judges in sports competitions. The "judges'" data are fed into the computer, which, according to the prearranged program and the range from a maximum of 100 points to a minimum of 40 points, grades every element and draws the coordinate curve of all the elements. Thus is formed the "cadre quality file" for storage in the computer.

The greatest advantage of this method of appraisal is quantitative evaluation and a strong comparability. Meanwhile, the efficiency is high, as large numbers of cadres can be appraised within a short time and the results can be handled and checked by the computer. The proper performance of this work lays the foundation for making cadre management more scientific. When a cadre is to be selected and promoted, a group of suitable prospects can be selected, on the basis of the different quality elements and standards, among the large number of "cadre quality files" stored in the computer. Afterward, by weighing other conditions and following the traditional methods of evaluation, such as live sampling, simulated evaluation, on-site test, individual interview and mass assessment, the prospects are sifted and final decision made.

The results of the appraisals made by the rubber plant indicates that such quantitative evaluation is feasible and reliable. After more than 20 days of cadre evaluation, the branch concerned made reliable analyses of the results on 84 cadres among those evaluated and found them fairly close to the actual conditions of the individuals evaluated, reaching a conformity rate of around 95 percent and basically embodying the requirement of "fairness, comprehensiveness and objectivity." At the time when cadre appraisal was underway, it happened that the plant was starting to recruit cadres level by level. Consequently, the cadres receiving high ratings were promptly



chosen, while those receiving low ratings were left aside. It also indicates the consistency between the evaluation results and the cadres' actual conditions.

From the conditions of Zhejiang's trial introduction of quantitative evaluation, the method awaits further perfection, and some problems require exploration, such as, how to eliminate the discrepancies (the relatively poor comparability of evaluation results due to different standards of different units), how to correctly determine and master the key elements among a cadre's qualities, how to remove as much as possible the influence of social environment and artificial factors in an appraisal and make the result more scientific and accurate, and so forth.

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CSO: 4005/557

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

CALL FOR SUMMING UP FIRST-STAGE RECTIFICATION

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jan 85 p 1

[Article by correspondent Wu Kexin [0702 0344 2450] and reporter Yan Laixu [6768 0171 2485]: "Do a Good Job in Examining the Summing up, and Consolidate and Develop the Fruits of Party Rectification"]

[Text] From 16 to 24 January, responsible comrades including Guan Guangfu, Qian Yunlu, Chang Lifu and Li Shuren of the liaison squad of the Central Guidance Committee stationed in Hubei, for 8 continuous days visited the eight units of the provincial department of culture, the provincial department of civil affairs, the Provincial Land Reclamation and Peasants-Workers-Merchants General Company, the provincial department of coal, the provincial cooperative of supplies and sales, the provincial department of agriculture and animal husbandry, the provincial department of education and the organization department of the CPC provincial committee to carry out conscientiously the examination and summing-up work in party rectification and to do a good job from start to finish in propelling the first-stage party rectification work. On the afternoon of the 24d, Comrade Qian Yunlu and the responsible persons of the propaganda department of the CPC provincial committee and the party rectification office of the CPC provincial committee visited HUBEI RIBAO office to be briefed on its status in party rectification and reform.

Responsible comrades of the CPC provincial committee Guan Guangfu and Qian Yunlu, whenever they visited a unit, penetratingly investigated and studied, conscientiously listened to the briefing of the unit's responsible person on summing up its party rectification work, humbly asked for the opinions of various units on party rectification work by the CPC provincial committee and also started a discussion with all on the means of consolidating and developing the fruits of party rectification and of creating a new aspect in their own unit, their own component and the entire province by continuing pushing forward the construction of the party, using the current party rectification as a new start. The whole process took place in an active atmosphere, there were both pro and con speeches and the democratic atmosphere was intense.

After penetratingly listening to the briefs on party rectification, the leadership group of the CPC provincial committee especially summoned meetings and, drawing inferences from other cases, conscientiously analyzed and studied the work of the unit's first-stage party rectification. They thought that an

absolute majority of the units performed well or rather well in party rectification work, and the following accomplishments were achieved:

1. through purging "leftism" and eliminating complacency and purging "leftism" and eliminating the obsolete, ideological cognition was unified and professional guidance ideas were corrected. For example, the provincial department of culture changed its past unilateral-culture and "small culture" ideology to convert "small culture" into "big culture," to convert operation solely by the state into joint state-group-individual operation and to convert a purely educational nature into that of an organic knowledge-recreation-interest-education combination, so that the work of the unit will better obey and service the general task and general goal of the party. The service work of the provincial department of civil affairs went beyond the old criterion of "helping and relieving the poor," of providing the minimum needs to "treat poverty and make people rich" and of helping develop commodity production to create a new aspect in the civil administration work of the entire province.
2. Party rectification has promoted economy, reform and work. The provincial department of education, the provincial department of agriculture and animal husbandry and the organization department of the CPC provincial committee have reaped good results in reforming the old mode of education and of school operation, in reforming and adjusting the agricultural structure and layout and in reforming the cadre management system.
3. Through checking "the three winds," some problems of utilizing authority for selfish gains and of bureaucratism were corrected. The Provincial Cooperative of Supplies and Sales not only conscientiously combed out certain losses due to bureaucratism but also formulated the measures and established the system for preventing and conquering bureaucratism in the future.
4. Many units such as the HUBEI RIBAO office and the provincial department of education, on the basis of integrating theory with practice, have conscientiously implemented the education of thoroughly negating "the cultural revolution," enhanced the ideological consciousness of party members, strengthened their party spirit and conquered their ideological factionalism. At the same time, most of the units were seriously conscientious and meticulously stable in their work of purging "the three kinds of people."
5. The "four modernizations" construction of the leadership group and the cadre contingents of most of the units were further strengthened.

The party rectification leadership group of the CPC provincial committee, in summing up the accomplishments of party rectification as against the high standard required by party rectification, pointed out the existing problem that the development was not well balanced. A small number of units were not painstaking in leading party rectification work and are definitely distant from the party rectification requirements decided upon by the CPC Central Committee. At the same time, there is also the problem of further consolidating and improving those units which have done good or relatively good work.

After conscientiously summing up and analyzing the accomplishments and problems of party rectification work, the responsible cadres of the CPC provincial committee suggested substantive requirements on how to do a good job of examining the summing-up work and to accomplish the first-stage party rectification work. All the units in party rectification, in starting to examine their own summing-up work, must comply with the spirit of Circular

No 11 of the Central Guidance Committee, truthfully implement article by article the overall summing-up examination, fully affirm and correctly appraise the accomplishments achieved, conscientiously discover the existing problems, extensively listen to the opinions of the party members and masses in the unit and then suggest the substantive plans and measures for consolidating and developing the fruits of party rectification. Those units which are rather poor in party rectification should grasp tightly the final period of time to solve whatever problem and to remedy whatever deficiency exists. All the party rectification work guidance squads should penetrate to the grass roots and grasp well the summing-up examination of key units, guide the overall work and prevent perfunctory and superficial operations. After the overall examination of summing-up work, all party rectification units should submit to the CPC provincial committee a summarized written plan on the status of their own party rectification work and the measures to consolidate and develop the fruits of party rectification.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUAN GUANGFU ON SOCIAL ACTIVITY EXCESSES

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jan 85 p 1

[Commentary: "Don't Waste Other People's Time in Excessive Social Activities"]

[Text] Comrade Guan Guangfu told the Enlarged Second Plenum of the Fourth Provincial CPC Committee that in order to concentrate primary energy in grasping the investigation, study and substantial guidance of reform, we should go one step further in simplifying meetings and various social activities. He advocated that we concentrate energy in carrying out reform instead of diverting energy to social functions. Viewing the current practical situation, there is a need to reiterate this opinion. It is hoped that the CPC committee organizations, components and units of all levels in our province will consciously comply with this requirement of the CPC provincial committee.

With the arrival of the new calendar year and the approaching advent of the Chinese New Year, the high tide of various meetings and protocol activities is actually upon us. Red invitation cards to all kinds of functions are flying around in some units. A responsible comrade, upon his return from the countryside, found more than 30 invitation cards on his desk, enough to cover the entire desk surface. Some meetings were held at the provincial capital, while others were held in the localities. In the latter case, the responsible comrades concerned of the locality, municipality and county also had to entertain and accompany delegates to meals, to sightseeing tours and even to plays and movies. A local responsible comrade who had just arrived at his job made a rough estimate that various receptions and social activities took up more than one-third of his time since arrival. He often got very exhausted and yet had to force a smile. Naturally, some responsible comrades are not the only ones who suffer from social function excesses.

The undesirable results of the unnecessary social activities are, first, that they waste a lot of valuable time. During the year of reform, everyone feels that there is a time shortage and that there is too much work to be done. The holding of unnecessary meetings and the distribution of invitation cards to too many people not only waste one's own time but also that of others. Lu Xun had said: "Time is life. To waste other people's time for no reason is actually no different from murder." At present, people say that "time is money and efficiency is life." Efficiency in fact means after all a better utilization of time. Second, they have a bad influence on the mood of an operation.

During the year of reform, cadres of various levels, especially the responsible cadres, are required to penetrate the realities, investigate, study and refamiliarize themselves with the practical situation in their own areas, components and war fronts, study the new situation and solve new problems. Yet the various meetings and social functions can only make the cadres float on the surface without knowing what is happening below and make them detached from the realities and the masses. Some comrades might think that the meetings they summon are to propel reform, but the results do not show this.

The true reason some comrades hanker after unnecessary meetings and invite a large number of responsible comrades to protocol and entertainment activities is not to propagandize something but rather to build themselves up by making use of the responsible comrades' "appealing power" in their efforts to gain special "considerations." These comrades do not understand that if they really create outstanding achievements, they do not need to make a great fanfare. In other cases, some people not only summon meetings and entertain the delegates, but also grab the opportunity to spend the funds of the state or the group to present gifts to the participants of these meetings. In this way they not only waste other people's time and money but also corrupt people's souls.

How do we stop this kind of new unbecoming activity that actually jeopardizes reform? The efforts of CPC organs and the responsible comrades of various levels are needed to guard the pass. Aside from not suggesting unnecessary meetings, they should take the lead in boycotting participation in such meetings that have been summoned by others. All responsible comrades should be very considerate to their subordinate comrades, that is, when they go to participate in necessary meetings or investigate and conduct research at the lower levels, they generally should not require the company of lower-level comrades so that the latter's normal work will not be jeopardized. Still less should they not accuse lower-level cadres of "lacking warmth" if the latter do not provide company. Lower-level cadres should not for this reason harbor unnecessary misgivings and should not listen to pointless gossips. They should be at ease in truly devoting their energy and time to their work and to reform.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUBEI ADMINISTRATIVE MEETING

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jan 85 p 1

[Article by correspondent Jia Li [0857 0448] and reporter Liang Xia [5328 1115]: "Huang Zhizhen Urges Creation of New Aspect in Judicial Administration Work"]

[Text] Yesterday (16 January) afternoon, Gov Huang Zhizhen [7806 4249 4176] told the Provincial Judicial Administration Work Conference that the judicial administration contingent of our province is the one relied upon and loved by the party and the people and that the judicial administration work in 1984 was outstanding. He expressed the hope that all the backbone police of the provincial judicial administration system would increase their sense of pride and honor, sum up their accomplishments and exchange their experiences to create a new aspect in judicial administration work.

The vast number of backbone police of our province's judicial administration organs, in resolutely carrying out the party's line, principles and policies, have won outstanding accomplishments in bringing into full play their role of judicial administration organs in developing various professional operations, and a large number of advanced groups and advanced workers have emerged. Eight units, including the Propaganda and Education Section of the Judicial Administration Bureau of Sha Shi Municipality, were given a grade-3 collective merit award, the No 1 and No 2 tugboats of the Combined Xin Sheng Brick and Tile Factory were given a grade-3 merit award, 5 comrades including Yu Yu'an were given a grade-2 merit award, 26 comrades including Xia Xishun were given a grade-3 merit award, 55 units including the Wuhan Municipal Law Office were judged as advanced groups and 412 comrades including Liu Jianshu were judged as advanced workers.

Deputy Chief Li Fuquan of the provincial people's representative congress and other responsible people together with more than 700 representatives participated in the conference.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

FACTORY CHIEF RESTORED TO POST

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jan 85 p 1

[Article: "Public Opinion Should Not Be Violated; Reform Must be Vigorously Supported"]

[Text] Yesterday morning at the Wuhan Lixin Clothing Factory, CPC committee secretary Fu Minggao of the Wuhan Municipal Trade Management Commission, on behalf of the Wuhan Municipal CPC committee, declared that the decision of the CPC committee of the Commercial Clothing Company to dismiss factory chief Zhang Zhiping [1728 4160 1627] had been revoked and that Zhang had been restored his post.

In March 1983, Zhang Zhiping volunteered to be chief of the Lixin Clothing Factory and was formally given the job in September of the same year after a democratic election by the whole factory. After assuming office, he boldly carried out a series of reforms and soon changed the appearance of the enterprise. The factory had lost more than 120,000 yuan for more than 2 years before Zhang came to office. In the first year after Zhang assumed office, the factory made more than 60,000 yuan in profit and total sales were 2.4 million yuan. He continued his efforts last year to increase the profit to 240,000 yuan and total sales to 5.3 million yuan. The growth was, respectively, 3 and 2 times that of the year before last.

On 5 January, without approval by the factory's employees' representative conference, the Municipal Clothing Factory decided to dismiss Zhang Zhiping on the ground that he was too old.

When the Municipal General Labor Union reported the case to the municipal CPC committee, the responsible comrade of the municipal CPC committee specifically pointed out that the supreme organ of a collective-ownership enterprise is its employees' representative conference, that the decision to employ or dismiss a factory chief rests in the hands of the masses and that the administrative leadership should not force through a decision. The survey of cadres and employees of the factory by an investigator detailed to the factory by the municipal CPC committee revealed more than 80 percent of the comrades agreed that Zhang should remain in the job.



The municipal CPC committee then made a resolute decision to revoke the wrong decision of the Commercial Clothing Factory, reinstate Zhang and order the CPC committee of the Commercial Clothing Factory to conduct self-criticism on this matter.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

COMMENTS ON ADVOCATING CONSUMERISM

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Huang Xu [7806 2485]: "Don't Play the Fool"]

[Text] With the pending advent of the Chinese New Year, it will soon be time to engage in various salutary activities. The leadership organ of a certain county recently sent out a notice requiring that all localities, "in launching their salutary activities, insist on the principal of frugality and economization by advocating the new mood of serving only 'a cup of plain tea' to prevent extravagance and waste." Some comrades in dissent stated: "During this time of encouraging consumption, isn't this kind of suggestion incompatible with the present environment?"

This is really a "high sounding order" that cannot be higher. I really adore the genius of these comrades who describe evident wrongs as wrong if not done. Against the opposition to hearty eating and drinking they say: Why? Should we encourage consumption? While their reasoning is so stately, heaven knows who would dare say "no."

However, I still want to say that these people are in fact playing the fool. While the party and the state encourage consumption, they only encourage the people to consume what they make with their own labor and not the generous waste of state or group funds for extravagance. The encouragement of the former way of consumption beyond doubt has the function of stimulating and developing production, of enhancing the four modernizations construction and of speeding up the pace of making the masses rich, while the latter kind of consumption is purely an undesirable form of behavior in hurting the state for selfish gains, which not only wastes the money of the state (the money is the blood and sweat of the people) but also corrodes people's ideology and corrupts the values of the party and the people.

This year is the year of overall reform and is also the year of developing party ratification further. Viewed from any direction, those people who play the fool by satisfying their greed for food and drink should not continue to do so.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

DENG YINGCHAO MEETS WITH 'CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION' DELEGATES

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 26 Feb 85 p 1

/Report by Liu Womin /0491 3087 3046/: "Deng Yingchao Meets with Delegates from 'China Friendship Association' From Los Angeles"/

/Text/ Deng Yingchao /6772 4481 6389/, chair of the Chinese People's Consultative Conference, met with members of the "China Friendship Association" from Los Angeles in Guangzhou today.

In the meeting, Deng thanked the guests for their work in the interest of the Chinese and American people and their work for the rights of overseas Chinese and hoped that they could contribute more for the friendship and fellowship between the people of the two countries.

Huang Jinbo /7806 6930 3134/, mayor of Xi-rui-dao /phonetic/, the honorary advisor of the China Friendship Association, and Zhou Guohua /0719 0948 5478/, deputy director of the China Friendship Association and others reported to Deng about the organization and expressed their desire to do some useful work for China's four modernizations.

Accompanying them in the meeting were Zhang Daocheng /1728 6670 6134/, member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and Liang Wilin /2733 1218 2651/, chair of the Guangdong Provincial People's Political Consultative Conference.

In the evening, Guangzhou mayor Ye Xuanping /0673 6693 1627/ entertained the members of the China Friendship Association with a banquet in the Oriental Hotel.

The visiting group from the China Friendship Association was scheduled to leave Guangzhou tomorrow via Hong Kong for the United States. These guests have visited Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou.

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DENG XIAOPING MEETS WITH INDIVIDUALS FROM HONG KONG, MACAO

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 26 Feb 85 p 1

/Report by Cai Zhongzhi /5591 1813 2784/: "Deng Xiaoping Meets With Huo Yingdong and Ma Wanqi in Canton"/

/Text/ Deng Xiaoping, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC and Director of the Consultative Conference of the CPC; Wang Zhen /3769 7201/, member of the CPC Political Bureau; and Yu Quili /7411 7264 6849/, head of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army, met separately while staying in Guangzhou on 22 and 23 February with patriotic personages from Hong Kong and Macao Mr Huo Yingdong /7202 5391 2639/ and Mr Ma Wanqi /7456 5502 4388/ in White Swan Hotel and Pearl Island Hotel.

Deng Xiaoping and other central leadership comrades had cordial conversations separately with Huo and Ma. Deng wished them happy spring festival, said hello to the compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao and said he hoped they could contribute to the prosperity of Hong Kong and Macao.

Huo and Ma wished Deng happy spring festival, good health and long life.

Party and military leaders in Guangdong Province such as You Taizhong /1429 1132 1813/, Lin Ruo /2651 5387/, Liang Lingguang /2733 7227 0342/ and Wang Meng /3769 3718/ also participated in the meeting.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

BRIEFS

NPC DEPUTIES INSPECT GUANGDONG--Nearly 100 deputies to the National People's Congress working or living in Guangdong, in Hong Kong and Macao, and from the military stationed in Guangdong, today started a 10-day inspection tour to various places in the province. This morning the deputies were briefed by the Deputy Governor Yang Li /2799 4539/ and the leading cadres from related ministries in the provincial government about the national economic plan of the province, budget and the situation of economic system reform. This tour is in preparation for the Third Plenum of the Sixth National People's Congress. The main points of the inspection were to have an understanding of the national plan, budget, and the situation of economic reform. The deputies all hoped that the reception would be simple and did not organize the masses to meet them and see them off, held no parties, gave no gifts and did not organize special entertainment in the evenings. The well-known mathematician Hua Luogeng /5478 5012 1649/ and the advisor to the Ministry of Railways Tan Baoxian /6223 5508 2009/ also joined the inspection in Guangdong from Beijing. /Text/ /Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 1 Mar 85 p 1/ 12909

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NORTHEAST REGION

SELECTION, MANAGEMENT OF NEW CADRES DISCUSSED

Shenyang LILUN YU SHIJIAN /THEORY AND PRACTICE/ in Chinese No 1, Jan 85 p 6

/Article by Jiang Kun /3068 242/ and Shi Quan /4258 3123/: "Why Are Some New Cadres Unable to Make Breakthroughs in Their Work?"/

/Text/ In recent years, especially since organizational reform and enterprise reorganization, a large number of new, young, educated cadres have stepped into leadership positions at all levels. Most of them are eager to reform and full of initiative spirit. Thus, they quickly make breakthroughs in their work. Yet, there are also some new cadres, who after coming into their positions, do lackluster work, make little improvement and are unable to make breakthroughs.

Why is this? Some say, some of the new cadres are not able to make breakthroughs in their work because they are burdened with fear. They fear taking on responsibilities and making mistakes in their work, and fear their mishandling of affairs will influence their futures. Thus, they are overcautious and are indecisive to the point of bungling opportunities. Some say, some of the new cadres don't make breakthroughs in their work because of their heavy "reliance" mentality. They rely on their superiors to put forth ideas and make final decisions. They rely on their lower colleagues to take the real complications so that they don't have to do any thinking. They lack positive initiative spirit. Some say, some cadre may be new, yet their thinking is old and they follow the same old methods. They make no thorough studies of new situations and problems. Naturally, they are not able to make new breakthroughs. And still other say, some new cadres are unable to make new breakthroughs because they lack the new knowledge, new experiences, etc. necessary for making new breakthroughs.

These statements express some of the reasons some new cadres are unable to make breakthroughs in their work, but these are not the main reasons. We believe the reason some of the new cadres can't make breakthroughs involves the selection of cadres. Those bold and capable cadres of the "progressive type" have not been chosen for leadership positions, but rather a group of mediocre "submissive types" have been selected. Naturally, there is no need to speak of breakthroughs in their work. It should be noticed, on the question of selection of new cadres, many of our leading comrades don't follow the mass line, do not pay attention to the opinions of the masses, and use their likes and dislikes

as the standard. As a result, those who are bold enough to raise different opinions, have courage and knowledge, have pathbreaking spirit and have probing and investigative talent are seen as arrogant, subjective, and immature. They are not put in important positions. Those "submissively, obedient types" who are very steady and overly conservative are seen as "outstanding talents" and, moreover, promoted to important positions. Also, some leading cadres are like "Madame Wu opening a shop," they select some "mediocre people" of low ability to enter the group for fear that a person of high ability will surpass them and not listen to orders. There are even some leading comrades who, according to their personal sentiments and likes and dislikes, set out to choose a personally "trustworthy" person who will serve the comrade's own interests. As a result, those followers who are inferior in capability and specialize in flattery are rapidly advanced in their careers. Clearly, upon entrance into the group, this type of person can never create new breakthroughs.

Then why is it some new cadres who do possess courage, knowledge, and ability are not able to make breakthroughs in their work after entry into the group? The principle reasons for this result are objective in nature?

First, they are in "supporting role" status, having duties but no authority. In the eyes of some leaders new cadres are "tender bamboo," lacking experience and the ability to carry the load or take the "leading role." Thus, they are put in "supporting role" positions and allowed to "play second drum" and "play bit parts" without having fixed duties. In a leading group composed of four or five members new cadres are always lined up in the rear to do all the work thus, having duties but no authority. Think of being a new cadre in a "supporting role" position with no authority and no say; how can you make breakthroughs in your work?

Second, there are some older comrades, who after taking young cadres and "putting them on their horses" are unable to rest easy, and fear "the springing of leaks." Thus, they are unwilling to give free rein to the new comrades, and continuously accompany them, resulting in a large cluster of new and old cadres. With lots of mother-in-law types and lots of ideas, they hold meetings all day, having no views on matters and no solutions for minor ones. It looks as if new cadres are riding the horses, yet, actually, the old comrades are holding the reins. This binds the hands and feet of the group's new entrants, whose work is performed in a state of passive disinclination, not to mention their failures to make new breakthroughs.

Third, there is a misapplication of talent causing them to be ineffective. Most of the new cadres have definite, specialized knowledge. They should make use of their fortes, taking responsibility in the vocational work with which they are familiar. Yet, in contrast, some organizations utilize their shortcomings, and place them in charge of administrative, political, and logistical work with which they are not familiar. This changes the "adept" into the newly "inept" and causes the new cadres much vexation. This utilization of personnel is like arming the statesman to do battle or setting the general down to embroider flowers. This imposition of difficult tasks upon people is to disallow them to make use of their abilities. It is to give up one's advantages in exchange for his disadvantages; thus, making it difficult for the knowledgeable to counsel, and the brave to battle. How can one talk of making new breakthroughs in their work?

Fourth, criticisms are numerous and help sparse. Those who are jealous of capable people bear prejudices towards new cadres, are overly critical of them, and provide no support for them in the workplace. Also, they make uncalled-for attacks against them, pull them down, and ridicule them to the point of rendering the organization ineffective. As soon as the new cadre make mistakes there is extra effort to be hypercritical, make perverse criticisms and disseminate idle gossip. In reaction to this unhealthy trend some of our leading cadre lack the energy and time to level severe criticism, eliminate reproach, or support the embolden the new cadres. This leaves the new cadres disheartened. After lighting the "fire" of enthusiasm a few times, they drown the "fire" on their own accord and don't again strive to forge ahead.

Fifth, there is no distinction between success and failure, and no clarification of reward and punishment. Some cadres stick to old ways and are content with current conditions. They are stable enough but lack initiative. They do common work and don't attack large mistakes. No large problems are produced in the work for which they are responsible, so their work is recognized to be successful. They are commended and even successively promoted. Then, there are some cadres who work courageously, accept responsibility bravely and blaze new trails boldly, but their work produces errors, so they are demoted. This causes some cadres to feel that if they maintain the state of affairs and don't commit any large mistakes then they can sit firmly in an "armchair of iron."

For the above reasons, the activism of new cadres is severely repressed. This influences the cadre's chance to bring about effects or make new breakthroughs in their work. This situation must be quickly changed. Otherwise, the previous simplification of organizational structure and revision of the leading groups' work will remain incomplete and lack any practical significance. This will adversely affect our four modernizations. The initiation of the new phase of the four modernizations hinges on having people to initiate it. Therefore, we must insist on a new period of employment standards and establish new employment concepts. We must boldly select a new, open mold of cadres for entry into the groups. They must have penetrating judgment, courage and knowledge, innovative spirit, keen thinking and a will to be brave to make reforms. Those "mediocre people" who are unable to make breakthroughs must be firmly revised. In the new period, to have no merits is a demerit. To not clearly produce achievements is to neglect one's duties. To stick to old ways, to be content with current conditions, to be excessively stable, to lack innovative spirit and to work indifferently is an error rather than a fulfillment of one's position. This type cannot be allowed to sit firmly in the "armchair of iron." Rather, this position should be given to those cadres to the "open mold," who then can carry the burden and make new breakthroughs.

In order to be allowed to make new breakthroughs new cadres must be given a free hand to operate, and be placed in vital positions. If these new cadres are allowed to work without fixed duties, serve in supporting roles and even become separated from their original vocations to become engaged in routine work, then new cadres will be in a position where their talents are wasted and breakthroughs impossible. In order to allow the new cadres' new breakthroughs to be effective they must be permitted to engage in proper duties, "carry the heavy burdens, take the new cadre in vital positions they must be given free hand to operate. There can be no "placing upon the horse and keeping hold of the reins." There can be no unease or refusal to unleash.



In order for new cadres to make breakthroughs in their work the masses must help. There is a proverb which says, "One bamboo fence has three posts, one hero has three men's help." A new cadre cannot make breakthroughs in his work without the masses help. This is to say all sections of society should support the new cadres' making of new breakthroughs, and not be "outsiders" or ridicule them. The society should take the initiative to offer new ideas for new cadres and serve as advisors. The society should resolve problems and join in a common effort with new cadres to make new breakthroughs. Leading cadre at all levels must especially "press the battle" for new cadres and provide them support. When new cadres encounter reproach, criticism and resistance, the leading comrades must overcome the dissenting views. They must remove resistance and sweep the path clear. When new cadres commit errors the leading comrades must help new cadres summarize their experience and lessons, and must help new cadres to lay down their burdens and continue to forge ahead. When the new cadres' work exhibits achievement they should be praised timely, raised in rank, and promoted to positions of leadership. The leading cadres should encourage them to strive forward and always maintain the momentum of "renewal" to continuously make contributions to the creation of new breakthroughs.

In the making of new breakthroughs new cadres cannot do without the masses assistance, but even more importance lies in their own efforts. While making new breakthroughs new cadres should humbly ask for the older comrades' advice, augment their learning and accumulate experience. Even more important is that they quickly "step into their roles," drop their fears, dispel their apprehensions and don't hesitate or be dependent. They should especially be brave in casting off ties of old frameworks, old orders and old methods. They should study new situations and solve new problems. They should be bold to reform and bold to blaze new trails. They should be courageous to be the foremost in the world and have fearless spirit to continuously make new breakthroughs in their work.

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NORTHEAST REGION

CONTINUED EFFORT AGAINST LEFTISM ADVOCATED

Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Feb 85 p 4

[Article by Wan Yixuan [8001 2011 5503]: "On Anti-'Leftism'--Random Thoughts on the Fourth National Congress of the China Writers' Association"]

[Text] The literary front seems to have brought with it a congenital complexity from the day of its formation, spending much time against the right, but seldom against the left. In face of its actual situation after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, whether it should focus on the "Left" or continue to combat the right was still controversial, reaching no consensus. On the eve of the Fourth National Congress of the China Writers' Association, the party Central Committee, clarifying the purpose and main theme from the very start and taking a clear-cut stand, declared that the literary front must continue to combat "Leftism" and overcome and prevent the "Leftist" influence, in order to initiate a new phase of "great energy, great unity and great prosperity." Reassured and enlightened, the writers knew where they stood and acquired a goal of struggle and the direction of advance.

For a long time, "taking class struggle as the key link" turned left and right into a sort of specially designated political concept and the dividing line between revolutionary and non- or counterrevolutionary. With the need of the class struggle, the extensions and connotations of left and right were continuously changed, reinforced, and developed, dazzling one's eyes and bewildering one's mind. By the time of the "Cultural Revolution," which turned right and wrong upside down, just what was "Left" and what was right became confused. However, that "left" was popular and right disgraceful was still clear. Thus, the "addiction to the left" and the "rightist phobia" emerged with the times. With different psychologies and diverse purposes, people marched in step toward the "Left." There is no need to detail the spread of the "Leftist" disaster and its evil consequences. Special products and special responsibilities of history, they should not be blamed on any particular individual. When history has progressed to the eighties today, the "Leftist" things no longer appear to be so impressive and arrogant, but have they truly turned into rats crossing the street? Not necessarily. In the minds of some people (not that many), "left" is still attractive and desirable. At least, its safety coefficient is much greater than that of "right." Like Bao Erye who could not part for a moment from the talisman hanging around his neck, some people can never separate for one second from the word "left," as if they

would be completely lost if they did and would not know where to place their hands and feet. This phenomenon is particularly pronounced in the literary community. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, for instance, in evaluating certain specific incidents and appraising the tendencies of certain works, and in the method of waging ideological struggles against certain unsound works and comments, the moment there is an opportunity, the ghost of "Leftism" always emerges in a mist and gives a performance. Actually, we cannot overcome mistakes by means of "Leftism." The only criterion to test truth is practice, and practice often requires time. Therefore, we must never hastily make this or that kind of conclusions. It is better to wait and see. The practice of regarding oneself infallible and acting rashly is precisely a "Leftist" characteristic. Whether to oppose the "Left" or the right, the most important weapon can only be the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts!

Many writers are full of confidence and extremely optimistic over the prospect of the struggle against and the prevention of "Leftism." Meanwhile, all have recognized the formidability of the endeavor. Comrade Zhang Guangnian [1728 0342 1628] declared: "Its ideological influence accumulated in more than 2 decades, especially during the 10-year turmoil, cannot be totally purged in a short time. The political dust stirred up by it has adhered to and settled in many people's minds." It is indeed so. These people are most skillful in opposing rightism, righteous in words, resolute in acts, full of pride and enthusiasm and extremely arrogant, yet the moment opposing "Leftism" is mentioned, they hem and haw, speak insincerely and seldom have the heroic bearing of conquering mountains and rivers. There are only two reasons: One is that some people have indeed tasted the advantages and received actual benefits of "Leftism" in the past, and find it hard to part from it for the time being. The second is that some people, accustomed to running on the old tracks and saying the customary words, have formed a relatively stubborn concept, to the extent that, when promoting "Leftist" things, they subjectively believe that they are upholding the party's principles and interest! In a certain sense, the latter is more dangerous and frightening than the former. As aptly said by a writer at the congress: "It is more difficult for some people to relinquish those obsolete false Marxist concepts than to lead a camel through the eye of a needle!" These words are incisive and profound.

The spirit embodied in the Fourth National Congress of the Writers' Association has far transcended the sphere of the literary community and is producing a gigantic and far-reaching influence in an ever broadening range. We deeply believe that it will be recorded in heavy ink and brilliant color as an important chapter in China's histories of literature and ideology.

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CSO: 4005/637

NORTHEAST REGION

CADRE PUNISHED FOR MISDEEDS DURING CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Feb 85 p 1

[Article: "Assistant Chief Cao Lanying of Chuanying District Expelled from Party for Crimes Committed during Cultural Revolution"]

[Text] Assistant chief Cao Lanying [2580 5695 5391] of Jilin city's Chuanying district actively rebelled during the "Cultural Revolution." While serving as the chief of a Qingdao Street rebel organization and the responsible person of a special mass group, he organized and led the group members to search the homes of six comrades and seized their property, personally approved the detention of and struggle against 13 cadres, and set up a private court to extort confessions by torture and inflict bodily injuries, resulting in one death and one mental disorder. Failing to realize his own mistakes, Cao kept silent on major charges while admitting minor ones, offered excuses and made evasions. What was even more reprehensible was that, when the organization investigated his problems, he actually recruited people to give the same story and launch a counter-investigation, demonstrating an abominable attitude.

In accordance with the spirit of the party Central Committee's decision on party consolidation and for the purpose of tightening party discipline and purifying the organization, the Jilin city party committee, after holding a discussion on 11 January 1985, found that Cao Lanying had made serious mistakes and decided to expel him from the party and rescind his membership on the fifth party committee of Chuanying district and his titles as a labor model of the city and exemplary party member of the district. The standing committee of the municipal people's congress decided to remove him as assistant chief of the district. With the consent of the provincial unit concerned, his title of provincial labor model was also rescinded.

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CSO: 4005/637

NORTHEAST REGION

COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEE CORRECTS UNHEALTHY TRENDS

Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Feb 85 p 1

[Article: "Shuangyang County Earnestly Rectifies, during Party Consolidation, Such Unhealthy Trends as Using Power for Private Gain"]

[Text] During the party consolidation of 7 1/2 months in 1984, organs directly under Shuangyang county focused on the problems producing the broadest impact and of the most concern to the people, especially the unhealthy trend of using power for private gain, gave priority to their solution and made obvious results.

Prior to party consolidation, such unhealthy trends as using power for private gain were fairly widespread in the county. During the consolidation, by means of launching an intensive education of members on the party's purpose of serving the people heart and soul, organizing special investigations by designated persons, guiding the party members to admit their mistakes and mobilizing everyone to examine himself and make a clean breast, they successively uncovered such unhealthy trends and bureaucratic practices as "three recruits and three changes," e.g., passing the parents' jobs on to the children, usurping public property, accepting gifts and giving lavish banquets, totaling 2,515 cases. Upholding the principle of simultaneous consolidation and rectification, the county party committee took immediate action to correct problems on which the policy was explicit, whose facts were clear and which could be immediately corrected. While working at the basic level, a cadre on loan to the county procuratorate, utilizing his functions, repeatedly falsified residence cards for leaders, relatives and friends and changed the status of his wife and four children from farming to nonfarming. At the mass meeting of county organ party members, the county party committee handled the case earnestly. Many party members took positive actions, voluntarily evacuating their excessive living quarters, getting their family members to resign from jobs obtained in violation of the recruitment requirements, returning the usurped public funds and property and giving back the gifts. Those making mistakes during the consolidation were solemnly handled upon discovery. At the beginning of party consolidation, the county grain bureau, in violation of relevant provisions, seized the grounds of the granary and proceeded to do a rush job of building its leader's house. Upon discovery, the county party committee immediately halted the construction, converted the part already completed into a grain storage, and suspended the main bureau leaders for

investigation. In regard to problems which had a strong policy nature and involved a broad range and complex conditions, such as "three recruits and three changes," the county party committee launched centralized consolidation and rectification. In line with relevant documents of the higher level and the principle of embodying the solemnity of policies and being fair and reasonable, the county party committee started from reality, proposed specific opinions and basically concluded the handling of the cases at one time.

Since party consolidation, no instance of building private houses in violation of discipline was uncovered; the practice of giving lavish banquets gradually ceased; and no violation of policy was found among the 30 children succeeding to their parents' jobs at state-owned enterprises throughout the county in 1984. The serious unhealthy trends in existence for many years in county organs were basically checked, the party style made an obvious improvement, and the masses inside and outside the party were fairly satisfied.

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CSO: 4005/637

NORTHEAST REGION

HEILONGJIANG'S ECONOMIC, POLITICAL SITUATIONS DISCUSSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO 25 Feb 85 p 1

/Article by staff commentator: "Correctly Regard the Current Situation"/

/Text/ In recent years the work in our province has had great results. The political and economic situation has become better year after year, and the livelihood of the people shows more improvement year after year. The prestige of the different level organizations and the government has become higher among the people year after year. Contact with the outside has also increased year after year. Not being able to see these, improperly belittling oneself, and weakening or even losing heart about going forward are not correct. But how to keep a clear head, correctly evaluate and estimate our work and make firm steps forward is an even bigger issue worthy of our attention.

The past experience of our party has taught us that under difficult situations, if the whole party stays united as one and works hard for the prosperity of the country, we will be able to pass the difficulty and that when we get some results, we must keep our head clear and be careful and work together with one heart, and then we may not make new mistakes. We have tasted more than once the bitterness of forgetting the pain when the scars heal and forgetting the rainy days when we have just had a few sunny days.

Now we need to re-evaluate the situation and our establishment and to make further analysis about our progress and lagging behind in order to have a full view of the thing.

We must understand that by a vertical comparison, contrasting our present with our past, we have made great progress; yet, by a horizontal comparison, our progress is far behind that in neighboring provinces or municipalities. Much of our work is still in a backward state.

We must understand, much of our progress is just a quantitative increase and not a qualitative rise. Many products are low in standard and still a long distance from the requirements of "quadrupling output and comparative good"; some are just touching a little in that direction. In the last 2 years, that we had "more" grain is only a relative surplus under a low consumer standard. It is quite insufficient if it is measured with the standard of better food for the people and higher consumption.

Our progress in the past 2 years mainly depended on the enthusiasm mobilized by the policy; it depended little on the new productivity formulated by science and technology. The increased production of grain mainly depends on the "dual contract." But when the "dual contract" reaches a certain limit, it will have not more effect; therefore we must finally depend upon the progress of technology. Our level of agricultural productivity is still very low, our agricultural structure has just started to adjust and the rural commodity economy is still very underdeveloped. The reorganization and integration of urban industry has just started; technological reform among the old enterprises is very poor, and it is a hard task to turn losses into profits. The standard of business management is very low, and the capacity for commodity competition is weak.

In a word, we must realize that some of the progress in our work in the past 2 years is circular in nature and some have only made regular progress and expanded in quantity. In general, we have not made any important breakthroughs nor much progress in quality. Realizing the goal of quadrupling gross annual national industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century will not succeed if we just rely on our method used in the past 2 years. We have no reason to feel complacent or have towering feelings. Keep a clear head, be calm and do not be hotheaded. In any kind of reform, one must proceed cautiously step by step, and not lower his guard nor rush headlong into mass action. One should look at the problems and difficulties in his work as big and important ones rather than as small and insignificant ones. Now is not the time for a crisis of "the three faiths"; it has passed. Now life is everywhere. Crises have been replaced with vitality. Under this situation, we remind you to reanalyze and understand the situation; it will only be beneficial to guarantee the healthy development of the political and economic situation.

12909

CSO: 4005/675



NORTHEAST REGION

IMPORTANCE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS STRESSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Feb 85 p 1

/Article by staff commentator: "Adhere to Seeking Truth From Facts"/

/Text/ Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the whole party has returned to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, and our various work is again back on the road to prosperity. That is why Comrade Deng Xiaoping again and again stressed, "Seeking truth from facts is the starting and fundamental point of Mao Zedong Thought"; "In the past, all our victories in the revolution depended on seeking truth from facts, and now the realization of the four modernizations also must depend on seeking truth from facts." The advancement and meanderings in the work of our province in recent years also repeatedly proved this truth.

In the debate about the standard of truth, that we dared to break through the fetters of the "two whatevers" and put forward the former secretary of the party committee before the "cultural revolution" as "red," not "black," to enable history to go back to its original color, is because we stood fast on this correct ideological line of seeking truth from facts. In pursuing the agricultural household contract system we did take action a little bit late because we did not adhere to this correct ideological line enough. We did make progress in our work in the past 2 years, because, in contrasting the positive experiences with the negative experiences, we understood the importance of adhering to this ideological line, and we could carry it out more conscientiously.

However, it is not so easy to carry out this ideological line, nor can it be done "once and for all." That we carried it out in the past does not mean that we carried it out today, and we may not be able to adhere to it in the future. Therefore, it is necessary to remind our leaders in various levels to pay attention to this problem and not to let the present victory muddle our heads, to deviate from the principle of seeking truth from facts and make the same mistakes as before.

This is not to shoot at random. In fact, some symptoms of bad trends have already appeared.

In some places, the lower levels report only good news and not the bad, and the upper levels listen only to the good news and not to the bad. They see

one or several good models and do not analyze nor look at the overall situation, and with their biased point of view, make long reports about isolated and trivial things, and think that everything is okay.

In some other places, some departments and units are blindly pursuing high quotas and high speed, and they are only concerned with need without considering possibilities; they neglect practical interest; the amount and value of products increases while the economic advantage is not high enough and net income even drops. some even brag and lie to seek honor and bonuses; this also has appeared.

Some leading organizations and leaders do not get deep into the facts, do not understand the conditions of the lower levels, do not listen to the masses and do their work on assumptions, and this has resulted in wrong decisions; or they falsely claim the will of the people and do things against the will of the people.

Some do not work with their feet on the ground, and do not start with the practical but with formalism and putting on a show. When they hear praise they are satisfied and happy; when they hear criticism, they argue with all their effort and shield their shortcomings.

These bad thoughts, bad habits and bad practices which are against the ideological line of seeking truth from facts must be eradicated and must be rooted out in the bud and should never be allowed to develop and lead to disaster.

We should make some changes in our thoughts and concepts. It is as follows: in evaluating the work of a district, a unit or a department, not only should the results attained be considered, but also their abilities to find out and to solve their current problems. That is, to see if they have the pioneering and creative spirit, the capacity to know, to control, and to adjust themselves. Making progress in one's work is an achievement and finding and solving one's own problems is also an achievement.

Even an advanced unit has its own backward points. One should face up to one's own backwardness and should not cover it. One should eliminate it through self-exposure to make himself work better. It does not impair one's advanced state but provides it with new meaning and vitality. Therefore, from now on, to evaluate an advanced unit or person, one's courage to expose and solve his own problems should be listed as an important requirement. A unit's acknowledging its backwardness is an expression of awareness and is the beginning of making progress. If any unit talks only about achievements without talking about problems, people should suspect the truth of its advanced state. Last year the secretary of the provincial party committee asked each of the cities and counties to write an article once every season, every provincial department once a year, about the finding and solving of its problems and give it to the editor of our newspaper to select for publication, and in so doing, he meant everyone to emphasize the same thing. Of course, our purpose in finding out the problem is not to look for trouble, but to establish the honor of seeking truth from facts; practicing fraud is a shameful new tendency. We must encourage people to say what they mean, to tell the truth to carry forward the ideological line of seeking truth from facts in the new historical era.

NORTHEAST REGION

STRONG PERCEPTION OF OVERALL SITUATION URGED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO 27 Feb 85 p 1

/Article by staff commentator: "Reinforce the Concept of the Overall Situation"/

/Text/ In the reform and the four modernizations, it is very important to stress the concept of overall situation. Local and overall situations depend upon each other; without the local there would be no overall situation and without the overall situation there would be no more local situations. The overall situation should care for and take care of the local to ensure the latter is full of vitality; and the local should obey and serve the overall to coordinate with all aspects. We all know this truth, and in our practical work, most of the time we do a good job. As early as the 1950's the secretary of the provincial party committee put out the slogan, "Consider the overall situation, share the difficulties and contribute more," which has had a very good effect on the strengthening and heightening of the concept of overall situation of party members and the people in the province. Today, in the construction of the four modernizations and economic system reform, we must further continue and carry forward this good tradition.

The central authorities have long clearly put out "discussing the big issue, understanding the overall situation and managing one's own profession," and regard it as the guiding thought to be stressed in party rectification and in straightening professional work. Recently the central authorities have also stressed that leaders of the various levels must correctly handle "the relationship between the local and the overall situation." The purpose of all of this is to require us to stand high and look far to put the districts, departments and units under one's jurisdiction into the overall center, and make all obey and serve the overall goals, tasks, and situation. According to this requirement, what we have done is still not sufficient and some units have even done things that hurt the interest of the overall situation. For example, the problem of "Document No 2" overriding "Document No 1" has not been completely solved yet. The central authority has pointed out that under the new situation some unhealthy tendencies have appeared among our cadres indifferent degrees. There is one obvious similarity among these unhealthy tendencies: regardless of the consequences, one or a small group considers only its won interests; with every effort or even employing improper practices, they counter the policies or regulations of the party or state, and wholeheartedly scheme against the state and the consumer. This has created bad effects on the various aspects

of reform. It did not add vitality but brought difficulties. What caught our attention and is worthy of propounding is that, facing the unhealthy tendencies, some party members did not step forward bravely to stop, expose, criticize, to take effective measures to firmly, resolutely, and quickly stop them, to propagate and explain, to stand up to support the central authorities and the decisions of economic reform; instead, they echoed the views of others and irresponsibly blamed the higher authorities and the lower units. All the thoughts and activities which aimed to infringe on the overall interest to satisfy the individual or the small group's interest are against the basic aim of the party, and some cannot be tolerated by party discipline or the laws of the state. If we let it develop, not only will further progress of reform and progress of the four modernizations be affected, but also some cadres will be ruined, and it is disadvantageous to both the state and the people.

At present, we must proceed from pushing reform forward, promoting the four modernizations and loving the cadres, to re-educate all party members, cadres, and the people about the concept of the overall situation, of the policy and of the masses. We must concentrate our thought on the four modernizations and we must firmly oppose those who, regardless of the overall situation, go their own way, and the unhealthy tendencies of shifting responsibilities to others or wrangling. For this reason, we must stress and pay close attention to the three kinds of education: the first one is the education of aiming at serving the people with one's whole heart. All the party members and revolutionary cadres must understand that it is our basic aim to make the state rich and strong, to struggle and die for the prosperity of the people. Whoever is against these will be unqualified party members and unqualified cadres. The second is education concerning the overall situation. Comrade Mao Zedong has long said that a communist party member must understand the truth that the need of an individual or a small group must obey the needs of the overall body. Only when the state and the people become rich can the problems of the individual or a small group be easily dealt with; only if we stress the great tasks of reform, the interests of the state and the people, can there exist the interest of individuals. So, whatever happens, we can never try to save a little only to lose a lot. In saving a little we lose a lot, and when the latter is lost, the former is doomed in vain. The third is education for execution of discipline. We must make the individual or the small group obey the whole as the political discipline to be followed. If there is an order to do something, then we do it; and an order to prohibit something, then we stop. From the policies of the central authorities one cannot just take what one needs, nor think in one way and behave in another. Whoever offends the discipline will be responsible for the consequences. Those who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonitions must be punished according to party discipline and the laws of the state. In a word, it is important to consider the overall situation, and we must seriously deal with it and must not treat it lightly.

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CSO: 4005/675

15 May 1985

## NORTHEAST REGION

## CHANGES IN IDEOLOGY, WORKSTYLE EXHORTED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Feb 85 p 1

/Article by staff commentator: "Make Changes in Ideology and Workstyle"/

/Text/ With the deepening of reform and the development of opening up to the outside, especially under the new situation of transforming from a self-sufficient or semiself-sufficient economy into a planned commodity economy, it is very necessary for the mass of party members and cadres to have some further changes in ideology and workstyle.

In the past several decades we used overly-centralized planned administration and state monopoly for purchasing and marketing, and in the guiding principle and working method, we have been accustomed to "monopoly." We know "monopoly" well and can manage it with ease; with "opening up," it appears that we do not have many ways, and are afraid of this and that. Thus we can hardly take the initiative to lead the production of commodities. Many comrades who have been working in rural areas for many years are used to "urging planting, "urging harvesting, urging purchasing." They can only take orders from the higher authorities and issue orders to the people underneath. It is basically a working method of execution. Thus, as time passes, they need neither worry about finding a market for their products, nor take time to acquire knowledge about taxes, prices and finances. So long as they finish production and purchase of agricultural and byproducts such as grain and live pigs, their whole work is completely finished. Now we need to organize our production according to the demands of the market, to stimulate currency and to adjust the structure of enterprises; it will not work if we continue to use the old concepts and experience used in the past. We can only honestly learn from the very beginning and continuously replace our knowledge and concepts with new ones so that we can catch up with the reform and fit the new situation.

First, we must turn from close-door execution to open-door initiation. In the past we mainly only knew our higher authorities and lower authorities and had little knowledge about our neighbors; we only knew things within the rules and regulations and had little knowledge about the outside world. Our methodology was basically to copy the directives and missions issued by the higher authorities and relay them to the lower units; there were very few who could use their own minds to find ways to work. With reform in the planning system, there will be fewer command plans from the state and more guiding plans and market adjustments. One cannot earn a living by just relying on "taking whatever is ready,"

"depending on rations," "depending on exclusive sales"; one must break down tradition and blaze a new road which fits "vitalization" and "opening up." This requires leading groups of various levels to reform, to create, to take the initiative, to explore and go forward. For this reason, we must, in various aspects such as finding, training and utilizing able people in the organizational establishment and in the distribution of force and distribution of work of the leadership, stress and explore this aspect to enable the various leading groups to be commanding headquarters and leaders who can really lead the masses and initiate new prospects.

Second, we must turn from stressing tactics to stressing strategy. In recent years, party committees at various level and the state have made economic work a key point to stress; however, the upper level did not provide the lower units with enough power; a great deal of substantive and routine work was concentrated at the top; and the energy of the leaders of various levels could not yet be utilized in stressing the important matters and emphasizing strategy. After administrative simplification and giving up power, routine work will be greatly lessened. What will the leading organizations stress in economic construction? And how will they stress it? This is an urgent problem to deal with. Both the party committee and the state want to stress the economy; nevertheless, there must be distribution of work and each must have its own emphasis. In general, the party committee should emphasize strategy, initiate directions and the formulation of important policy, while the state should emphasize the formulation of regulations, plans, economic policy, use its leverage and necessary administrative measures to ensure the realization of the national economic plan. Besides, the party committees and the state must cooperate closely and accommodate each other and each should not go its own way or even let their energy offset each other. In addition, the function of each department has to perform fully, the control and guiding of the various professions should be strengthened, to enable them to be strong implementing organizations.

Third, we must turn from a single view to the overall. In economic construction, it is not enough for the economic departments to stress it. In the superstructure, how the different departments transfer their key emphases to economic construction and overcome the "two layers of skin" to be organically integrated, is a problem requiring serious study to be solved. For example, in propaganda work, if we remain using the old formulas of explaining the documents, organizing the discussion, writing commendatory letters and issuing materials for study, we will not be able to follow the tempo of the times. Now the work of propaganda must be in many different forms, to publicize commercial products and the development of new products, to popularize new technologies and to offer various kinds of economic information, especially to shoulder ideological work of the basic construction lines such as industry, transportation, finance and trade, to enable propaganda to do some practical work for economic construction. In a word, in propaganda, the party should include economic work in its scope of business and really become an organic part of it. The other departments in the superstructure may all adopt this method, to integrate their own work with economic work to realistically serve economic construction.

Fourth, we must turn from stressing physical strength to brain power. In order to improve provincial economic construction, we cannot just rely on the expansion

of work, nor rely on physical strength, nor on working overtime or extra points; instead we must rely on technological advancement, acquiring new knowledge, we must develop new products, new technology, new material, new markets and new regions for production and consumption. The key is able people. Besides finding able people and cultivating them, we must adopt the method of inviting them in and sending them out, to accelerate the exploration of knowledge. We can invite some economic management cadres from the advanced provinces or municipalities to teach us about the development of commercial products and enterprises in the townships. We can also send people there to learn and use them after their return. To keep able people, and use them to best advantage, all scientific and technological people who are transferred in a reasonable direction must be specially treated with favor in policy and pay. As long as able people are not transferred in the reverse direction, it must be positively supported by all of the party and administrative organizations and the personnel departments.

Fifth, we must turn from using administrative measures to using mainly economic measures. In the past, in the planned economy, we depended on pouring down administrative orders; and now, in the planned commodity economy, we must mainly depend on economic measures and economic leverage to adjust and control. We must learn and acquire this new method of leadership, to push forward and not impede the development of commodity production. Now there have appeared again in some places and units, some coercion and commandism, illegal apportionment or illegally imposing fines which infringe on the interests of the people; we must pay attention to this and be alerted and be determined to put an end to it. We should never let it be and make the people suffer.

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CSO: 4005/675

TAIWAN

# BACKGROUND OF KUOMINTANG'S NEW SECRETARY GENERAL DISCUSSED

Taipei TSULI WANPAO [INDEPENDENT EVENING NEWS] in Chinese 7 Feb 85 p 2

[Article by staff reporter Li Yung-te [2621 3057 1779]: "Choice of Ma Shu-li as New Kuomintang Secretary General Was Learned Last Month"]

[Text] Appointee Himself Surprised by the Transfer

The appointment of Ma Shu-li [7456 2885 4449], the East Asian Relations Association representative stationed in Japan, as secretary general, handed down for discussion by Chairman Chiang and passed by the standing committee of the ruling party's central committee, was almost as much a surprise to Ma Shu-li himself as to the government circles.

After the standing committee's approval around 10 a.m. yesterday, a senior member of the political circles, in a telephone call to Japan, was told by Ma Shu-li: "I never thought that it could be true. I am apprehensive of my future duties!"

Reportedly, Representative Ma accompanied (Fujio Tadayuki), chief of the political coordination committee of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, to Taipei on 29 January, and was received by Chairman Chiang on 3 February. Chairman Chiang informed him of the plan to transfer him back to Taiwan as the secretary general of the party. Representative Ma asked the chairman to give it careful consideration, in view of his advanced age, poor health and heart problem.

It appears that Chairman Chiang was sounding Mr Ma out in the interview, but handing the matter down to the standing committee meeting for discussion yesterday was unexpected.

A native of Jiangsu's Lianshui county, Ma Shu-li lived in Southeast Asia in his early years and worked as a reporter, editor, and chief of overseas Chinese papers. His ties with Taiwan's political circles happened rather fortuitously.

After the eruption of the Sino-Japanese war, Mr Shu-li led a Philippine reporters' delegation to China. Ku Chu-t'ung [7357 4376 0681], then commander of the third theater of operations, was from the same county and hence



his fellow townsman, and Ma Shu-li's brother Ma Ta-ch'eng [7456 1129 2052] served under the commander. Therefore, when the reporters' delegation visited China, General Ku thought highly of Ma Shu-li and wanted to assign him under his command for future political operations.

Through Lieutenant General Wang Pao-hsuan [3076 1405 8830], member of the party and government branch of the third theater of operations of Kuomintang's military commission, General Ku's offer was relayed to Ma Shu-li. In face of the national calamity, he willingly accepted the offer to serve the country, and was appointed the chief of CH'IEN-HSIEN JIH-PAO [FRONTLINE DAILY].

The organ paper of the third theater of operations, CH'IEN-HSIEN JIH-PAO was founded by Chairman Ku Cheng-kang [6253 2973 4854] of the third theater of operations' political department. After Ma Shu-li served as the paper's chief for a time, Ku Cheng-kang was transferred as the chief of the Zhejiang provincial party department, and Ma Shu-li was given full responsibility of the paper's editing and promoted as brigadier general and vice chairman of the political department of the third theater of operations.

After the victory of the resistance war, the paper was moved to Shanghai and expanded into a full-size paper, and Ma Shu-li remained its chief. At the first legislative members' election in 1947 after the promulgation of the constitution, Ma Shu-li originally intended to participate in the journalists' professional organization election. However, the Shanghai journalists' organization at the time included such senior reporters as Ch'eng Ts'ang-po [4453 3318 3134] of the SHANGHAI SHIH-SHIH HSIN-PAO [SHANGHAI CURRENT AFFAIRS NEWS] and others. Due to the lack of seniority, Ma Shu-li failed to win nomination. Specially requested by General Ku Chu-t'ung for help, Chairman Wang Pao-hsuan of the then Jiangsu provincial party department invited the city's prominent figures for consultation and supported Ma Shu-li in his electoral district, resulting in the latter's election with a wide margin, while Wang Pao-hsuan himself was elected a legislative member with a wide margin in the eighth district of Jiangsu province.

#### Shifting from the Press Circles To Become a Legislative Member

From then on, Ma Shu-li shifted from the press circles to become a legislative member and officially began his political life.

Two years later, the government, due to the communist rebellion, moved to Taiwan. While chairman of the Jiangsu provincial party department, Wang Pao-hsuan founded the "Jiangsu Cultural Corporation," which collected all the county and city papers throughout the province for printing and distribution, in order to save cost. After the government moved to Taiwan, the corporation's printing plant was dismantled and moved to Taiwan. However, as the large and small papers on the mainland were innumerable, the corporation was not given permission to publish and the machinery was left idle. It happened that an overseas businessman in Indonesia wanted to start a Chinese paper there, and Wang Pao-hsuan generously loaned him the machinery. The businessman requested Ma Shu-li's help in getting the paper started. At

the same time, General Ku Chu-t'ung's younger brother opened a match man manufacturing company in Indonesia, and Ma Shu-li also worked there.

#### Making Many Contributions in Running a Paper in Indonesia

After coming to Taiwan, the Kuomintang launched a party reform, and Cheng Yen-fen [6774 1750 2780] was in charge of the central committee's third group. Wang Pao-hsuan recommended to him Ma Shu-li who was running a paper in Indonesia. Thereafter, Ma Shu-li took charge of party affairs in Indonesia and the struggle against the Chinese communists and made many contributions.

After Indonesia established diplomatic relations with it a few years later, Communist China pressured Indonesia to arrest the Kuomintang's personnel, and Ma Shu-li was jailed. Through the United Nations and after negotiations lasting more than a year, Ma Shu-li was freed and returned to Taiwan.

Afterward, Cheng Yen-fen recommended him as chairman of the central committee's third group, but it was not approved. In 1962, Cheng Yen-fen recommended Tung Shih-fen [5516 0013 5358] as chairman of the third group, but the name shown on the approval was Ma Shu-li.

Ma Shu-li served as chairman of the third group for a decade. He resigned after Taiwan and Japan severed diplomatic relations in 1972, and was assigned to Japan as representative of the East Asian Relations Association. During his term with the third group, Ma Shu-li demonstrated his diplomatic skills and his competence in handling affairs and was extremely successful in overseas Chinese work, winning the high regard of the late president and Mr Chiang Ching-kuo.

#### Close Contact with Japan's Political Circles

According to Wang Pao-hsuan, Ma Shu-li's long-time colleague and close friend, during a trip to Taiwan while with the CHUNG-HUA SHANG-PAO [CHINA COMMERCIAL NEWS] in Indonesia, Ma Shu-li was accompanied by Cheng Yen-fen to call on the late president. As Ma Shu-li is conversant in the Indonesian language, President Chiang asked him to translate his "Soviet Union in China" into Indonesian and allocated \$2,000 as publishing expenses. However, as Ma Shu-li was arrested and jailed soon after his return to Indonesia, the translation was not completed or published. Calling on President Chiang together with T'ao Hsi-sheng [7118 1585 5110] after returning to Taiwan, he offered to return the \$2,000. President Chiang said that it was not his fault and that it was not necessary for him to return the money. Meanwhile, President Chiang expressed his gratification and approval for Ma Shu-li's courage in launching cultural and propaganda struggles against Communist China while he was in Indonesia. When serving as representative of the East Asian Relations Association, Ma Shu-li maintained close contact with Japan's political figures. Japan's former premiers (Kishi Nobusuke) and (Fukuda Tadao), former director general of the Defense Agency (Kin Marunobu) and (Fujio Tadayuki) are all his close personal friends, thereby effectively promoting Taiwan's relations with Japan. On one occasion, (Fukuda Tadao) declared in front of Taiwan's political figures: "I belong to the Ma faction."

TAIWAN

#### CHANGE OF KUOMINTANG SECRETARY GENERAL ANALYZED

Taipei TSULI WANPAO [INDEPENDENT EVENING NEWS] in Chinese 7 Feb 85 p 2

[Article by staff reporter Wu Cheng-shuo [0702 2973 2592]: "Reason for Chiang Yen-shih's Resignation Puzzling"]

[Text] After yesterday's news that Ma Shu-li [7456 2885 4409], Japan representative of Taiwan's East Asian Relations Association, will succeed Chiang Yen-shih [5592 1750 1102] as secretary general of the Kuomintang central committee, the general reaction of the political circles was "shock!" When the reporter inquired about it at the Kuomintang's personnel unit, the answer was actually: "Absolutely impossible!"

Reportedly, most high-level Kuomintang figures attending the central committee's standing committee meeting only heard about it at the meeting from Chairman Chiang himself, and a few senior standing committee members were told prior to the meeting.

Even though some few political periodicals reported in the past the possibility of Secretary General Chiang's shift, most political figures regarded it as groundless. One political figure had indicated that it was not likely for Secretary General Chiang to change his job, but, should there be a change, he would be given a more important post. When he heard yesterday that Secretary General Chiang had resigned due to health reasons and would become a national policy adviser at the Presidential Office, his first reaction was: "The secretary general's health is very good. How could it be health reasons?"

The topic of most concern to the political figures yesterday afternoon was the reason for Ma Shu-li's appointment as secretary general to replace Chiang Yen-shih. Currently, there are as many as 10 conjectures circulating around, but none can be verified.

However, according to informed sources, after the cabinet reorganization in the middle of last year, Chiang Yen-shih's responsibilities were much curtailed. When Sun Yun-hsuan [1327 6663 3894] was president of the Executive Yuan, Secretary General Chiang often discussed important decisions and bills with the executive branch, but there seemed to be changes after the new cabinet was formed last year.

According to some people, the resignation of Sun Yun-hsuan as president of the Executive Yuan due to illness, the departure of Wang Sheng [3769 8512] as ambassador to Paraguay and the resignation of Chiang Yen-shih as the Kuomintang secretary general have produced a structural change in Taiwan's power center, and a new alignment seems to be gradually forming.

According to some political figures, the appointment of the 76-year old Ma Shu-li as the party's secretary general is a sort of traditional measure. With his experience in running newspapers and his residence abroad for many years, he should be able to handle with ease the party's cultural, propaganda and overseas work, but in the organizational aspect, especially this year's local public office elections and next year's elections of public opinion delegates to the central government, he will probably have to rely heavily on Organizational Work Committee Chairman Sung Shih-hsuan [1345 2514 6683].

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CSO: 4005/554

TAIWAN

BRIEFS

COSTA RICA TREATY APPROVED--A joint session of the Foreign Affairs and Judicial Committees of the Legislative Yuan, strongly encouraged by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has examined and approved the extradition treaty between the governments of the Republic of China and Costa Rica. It will be forwarded to the next plenary session of the Legislative Yuan for ratification before being submitted to the president for promulgation. Speaking before the joint session examining the accord, Foreign Minister Chu Fu-sung stressed that the treaty was concluded between the Republic of China and Costa Rica in line with the spirit of equality and mutual benefit and on the basis of international law and international practice. The wording and substance of the treaty are conducive to both signatories and constitute no encroachments on our fundamental rights and interests or on our independent judicial systems. [Text] [Taipei Domestic Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Apr 85]

CSO: 4005/831

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

MOTIVES FOR CHIANG NAN'S MURDER ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese No 182, Mar 85 pp 23-25

[Article by K'o Pei-tao [2688 0554 6670]: "The Intelligence Letters Explain the Motives of Chiang Nan's Murder"]

[Text] Rather than making it more complex, the letters have given clarity to Chiang Nan's [3068 0589] murder. The question involves the nature of some of Chiang Nan's acts in the eyes of the Taiwan Intelligence Bureau. As for the assassination, there are three possible causes leading to the decision.

On the surface, Chiang Nan's seven intelligence letters to Taiwan published by CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI seem to have made his murder more complex and inexplicable, but, with careful consideration, one discovers that they have clarified the previously puzzling parts of the case and provided a possible explanation of its chief instigator's motive. In the writer's view, rather than making it more complex, the letters have given clarity to Chiang Nan's murder.

The Doubtful Previous Explanation

What were the parts in Chiang Nan's murder which were puzzling?

Prior to the publication of the letters, the explanation of Chiang Nan's murder by people in general was that his "Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo" and other criticisms and his articles exposing the Chiang family led to his murder and that, with the hint, or at least the knowledge, of Taiwan's intelligence personnel, Bamboo Gang leader Ch'en Ch'i-li [7115 0796 4409], for the sake of "rendering service," plotted the bloody assassination.

Nevertheless, those carefully reading the "Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo" and Chiang Nan's other articles could not help finding it strange. The "Biography" is complimentary rather than derogatory, especially the concluding chapters, which contain far more praises than censures. As for Chiang Nan's other articles, though revealing some facts on the Kuomintang's power struggle, these articles, either in the acrimony of wording or in the depth of exposure, are far from being on a par with articles written by many others, or even with

Taiwan's extraparty periodicals. If Kuomintang's intelligence authorities could tolerate the writings of others, why did they single out Chiang Nan as the target of their intolerance?

Therefore, the previous explanation lacks full justification.

The publication of the letters and the development of the case thereafter have provided us a possible explanation.

First of all, let us look at the following facts.

According to statements made by Chiang Nan's widow Ts'ui Jung-chih [1508 5554 5347] after the letters were published, the Taiwan Intelligence Bureau, at the end of 1983, sent Hsia Hsiao-hua [1115 2556 5478] to San Francisco as an intermediary. Hsia hoped that Chiang Nan would revise the contents of the "Biography." In a telephone call from Taiwan in early February 1984, Hsia Hsiao-hua indicated to Chiang Nan that Intelligence Bureau chief Wang Hsi-ling [3076 1585 5376] had agreed to pay Chiang Nan \$20,000 as "appreciation money" for revising the "Biography."

Chiang Nan agreed to Hsia Hsiao-hua's request and began the revision. The relevant details were included in his letter of 6 February to Hsia Hsiao-hua, which was the first letter: "I will follow all the principles you mentioned." On the basis of the contents of subsequent letters, one can surmise that, besides agreeing to revise the "Biography," Chiang Nan might possibly have promised the Taiwan Intelligence Bureau to gather intelligence or even to incite defection, and would be paid for his work in addition to the \$20,000.

According to Ts'ui Jung-chih, \$17,000 of the "appreciation money" for revising the "Biography" were paid by checks in three installments from mid-March to September.

Therefore, we can make such an assumption: Taiwan's Intelligence Bureau, especially Wang Hsi-ling who handled the payments, felt that a bargain had been struck and that Chiang Nan had become an individual receiving its pay and working for it.

#### Wu Kuo-chen Incident Considered a Betrayal

Nevertheless, something else happened in March: On 17 March, upon the request of TAIWAN YU SHIH-CHIEH [TAIWAN AND THE WORLD] Monthly, Chiang Nan interviewed former Taiwan provincial governor Wu Kuo-chen [0702 0948 2823]. His article "Wu Kuo-chen Reminisces at Age 80" was published in two parts in the June and July-August issues of the monthly. In the article, Wu Kuo-chen, in his own words, discussed the course of his disputes with Chiang Ching-kuo, the reasons for his resignation and departure from Taiwan, especially his near "assassination" in 1952 as a result of his antagonism toward Chiang Ching-kuo, his quarrel with the latter on his son Wu Hsiu-huang's [0702 0208 3385] trip abroad, and Chiang Ching-kuo's intent to have Wu Hsiu-huang's legs broken, though fortunately dissuaded by Huang Shao-ku [7806 1421 6253].

Had it been published before Chiang Nan made his agreement with the Taiwan Intelligence Bureau and accepted its money, this article, which was highly derogatory of Chiang Ching-kuo, would not have been considered extreme. Compared with the articles in Taiwan's extraparty periodicals exposing the Chiang family, it was very mild. The problem was that it was published after Chiang Nan made his agreement and accepted money from the Intelligence Bureau. Thus, in the eyes of the bureau, Chiang Nan, living off one party while secretly helping another, committed treason and heresy. Moreover, after the article was published, Taiwan's HSIA-CH'AO LUN-TAN [SUMMER TIDE FORUM] reprinted it in full. If members of the Chiang family saw it and knew that it was written by their own intelligence personnel, they would be furious. Thus, with the Intelligence Bureau chief's hint, Bamboo Gang's Ch'en Ch'i-li plotted the act of "restraining" Chiang Nan.

In his letter of 25 March to Taiwan, Chiang Nan mentioned his interview with Wu Kuo-chen on 17 March and the latter's possible trip to China in the near future. In his 12 May letter, he mentioned that the Chinese communists were working on Wu and had invited him to visit the mainland, but that Wu found it "inadvisable (had no intention) to accept for the time being."

Nevertheless, in "Impressions of Mr Chiang Nan" published in RENMIN RIBAO, Cui Chen [1508 7115] wrote that Chiang Nan, "to promote the unification of the motherland, twice flew across the North American continent to Wu Kuo-chen's residence in Georgia on the shores of the Pacific, exerted much effort to convince Mr Wu, and reached the agreement for him to visit Beijing in the coming October." In addition, in the September issue of TAIWAN YU SHIH-SHIEH, Chiang Nan mentioned that he was again a guest in Wu Kuo-chen's house for 20 hours in mid-April and that Wu "originally planned to visit Hong Kong with his wife in September."

Thus, in terms of the Taiwan Intelligence Bureau, possibly they had already learned of Wu Kuo-chen's decision to visit Beijing in October (via Hong Kong in September) and the role played by Chiang Nan as the intermediary. Yet in his letters to Taiwan, Chiang Nan said that Wu had no intention for the time being to accept the invitation and that Communist China sent an attache to call on him on 8 May and "relay Deng Yin-chao's invitation."

Thus, possibly Wang Hsi-ling (or an even higher level) was enraged, believing that, while accepting money from the Intelligence Bureau and agreeing to say favorable things about Taiwan, Chiang Nan continued to write articles, touching Chiang Ching-kuo's sore spots, and, while promoting the united front for Communist China and serving as its intermediary, he accepted the Intelligence Bureau's money and supplied false information. With the feeling of being hoodwinked and tricked, the "restraint" of Chiang Nan was decided.

As for whether the "restraint" was to be as drastic as death, it probably had something to do with Taiwan's drive against the underground gangs. Possibly Ch'en Hu-men [7115 5706 7024] and Wang Hsi-ling (or an even higher level) indicated extreme displeasure about Chiang Nan's "betrayal" and his "living off one party while secretly serving another," and thereupon Ch'en Ch'i-li



"rendered service" by "rubbing out" Chiang Nan and left a tape as a means to escape, as a personnel of the Intelligence Bureau, the drive against illegal gangs by "clearing up all special cases."

### Three Possible Causes Leading to the Decision

The murder of Chiang Nan by the Bamboo Gang and the implication (at least privy) of the Taiwan Intelligence Bureau are irrefutable facts. The question is which level decided on the act of assassination and through what procedure.

The writer consulted a scholar in Hong Kong, and he suggested three possible causes leading to the decision.

1. It was a single rational move. The highest level (assuming an individual) of the intelligence branch made a comprehensive study, clarified all the circumstances, concluded that Chiang Nan had betrayed Taiwan, that he worked for both sides (Kuointang and CPC), or that he had gained inside information on the intelligence personnel, thereby compromising security, and therefore made the decision and plan to "eliminate him."

2. A mistake occurred in the internal procedure of the intelligence system. In other words, it was a decision made in error due to the lack of coordination among different intelligence units or among different branches of the same unit. For instance, unaware of the fact that Chiang Nan had already reported his contact with Wu Kuo-chen or the articles he intended to write to a different responsible person, the responsible person wishing to "restrain" him, due to lack of coordination, made the decision.

3. It was the consequence of the internal factional struggle in the intelligence system. For instance, one faction might have tried to recruit Chiang Nan, but failed because of its offer or personal relations, while another faction, though whose offer was not as favorable, succeeded, thereby incurring the jealousy and antagonism of the first faction, which retaliated by "restraining" Chiang Nan. According to Chiang Nan's widow Ts'ui Jung-chih at an interview, Taiwan's intelligence chiefs Wang Hsi-ling and Ch'en Ch'uan-tien [7115 0278 3013] successively attempted to enlist Chiang Nan, offering from \$40,000 to \$200,000, but were both rejected by Chiang Nan. Yet in 1982, when assistant Intelligence Bureau chief Ching Tzu-li [5427 5261 4539] approached him through Hsia Hsiao-hua, Chiang Nan, due to his former friendship with Hsia, agreed to accept \$20,000 as "appreciation money" and revise the "Biography." Meanwhile, after returning to Taiwan from America to become chief of the Intelligence Bureau, Wang Hsi-ling cut down on Hsia Hsiao-hua's allowance and, after the murder of Chiang Nan, forced Ching Tzu-li to retire. It possibly reflected the internal factional struggle in the intelligence system.

Among the three possible causes leading to the decision, the first one is most acceptable to people in general. However, if so, before making the rational move, there appeared to be no reason for not giving Chiang Nan a warning, reminding him that he had accepted money from the Intelligence Bureau and that he should not be living off one party while serving another and making a profit

from both sides. However, from the letters, it seems that Chiang Nan always maintained favorable contact with "Li Han-wen [2621 3352 2429]," without indication of having received any warning. Thus, among the three causes, the likelihood of the second or third is higher.

#### Different Understandings Leading to Tragedy

In terms of the Taiwan Intelligence Bureau, most likely the motive for "restraining" him was because Chiang Nan, having accepted money from it, continued to act in a manner unfavorable to the Kuomintang. Yet as far as Chiang Nan was concerned, he might not necessarily have deemed it in any way improper.

Chiang Nan accepted the Intelligence Bureau's \$20,000 as expenses for revising the "Biography." He kept his promise and performed what he agreed to. Possibly he received other payments from the bureau as the price for information on Communist China and the Taiwan independence movement. In this aspect, precisely as stated in his letter, he considered himself as having "done the best." In terms of rights and obligations, there was nothing improper for a businessman long residing in America to believe that the two sides were even.

Chiang Nan reported his contact with Wu Kuo-chen to Taiwan. As for the articles written after the interview, possibly he felt that basically it contained Wu Kuo-chen's views and that he merely served as a reporter and recorded them factually. Furthermore, in his bargain with Hsia Hsiao-hua, he assumed no obligation to refrain from writing other articles or to be "lenient" to the Kuomintang when he did write. He was paid for "being lenient" in the "Biography," but received no pay for doing so in other articles. Likewise, perhaps he was paid for supplying information, but received no pay for refraining from other activities (e.g., doing united front work for Communist China). Therefore, in terms of Chiang Nan as a businessman, he might possibly have found that the bargain was fair and that the two sides were even. In terms of Chiang Nan as a reporter, the factual recording of Wu Kuo-chen's views was his duty. As the words were spoken by Wu Kuo-chen, naturally Wu Kuo-chen should be responsible for them.

In short, in the view of the Intelligence Bureau, since you took our money, you are our man and must defend our interest in everything. In Chiang Nan's view, I am paid for a certain job, which I have completed, and I have no obligation to assume responsibilities on jobs for which I am not paid. It was precisely these different understandings which led to tragedy.

#### Lesson of the Murder

If the above explanations are tenable, then the lesson of Chiang Nan's murder is: An intellectual, writer, reporter, or scholar may accept the open compensation (e.g., participation in a research project) of a political power, but not its secret pay, especially from its intelligence machine. Once accepting it, it signifies the loss of his independence, at least in the mind of the payor. Thus, even commonplace activities of an independent intellectual will not be tolerated, or he may even suffer death.

15 May 1985

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

## REACTIONS TO CHIANG NAN'S LETTERS DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese No 182, Mar 85 pp 22-25

[Article by Li I [2621 1837]: "Open Reactions and Backstage Details of Chiang Nan's Intelligence Letters"]

[Text] After obtaining Chiang Nan's [2068 0589] seven intelligence letters, the editorial department of this publication, after verifying the handwriting, decided to publish them. However, an unavoidable question comes to mind: On the basis of the facts revealed in the letters, how does one explain the implication of Taiwan's intelligence personnel in his assassination?

In spite of the fact that the editor mentioned, when publishing the letters in the previous issue, that explaining the details of the Chiang Nan case by means of these letters is not the responsibility of this publication, the question presents itself in the minds of not only our editorial staff, but also many of our friends and readers. Since Chiang Nan worked for the Taiwan Intelligence Bureau, why was it involved in the act of his assassination? It seemed to be an unanswerable question.

The letters, after their publication, produced strong reverberations. The statement of Chiang Nan's widow Ts'ui Jung-chih [1508 5554 5347] provided a further clue. On the basis of these facts, Mr K'o Pei-tao [2688 0554 6670] wrote an article to clarify the issue. Taking all the known facts as the basis, he not only answered the question, but also explained the puzzling problems prior to the publication of the letters, finally analyzed meticulously the possible motives for Chiang Nan's murder, and draw therefrom a lesson meriting attention. His article provides a simple, yet highly possible, explanation of the open reactions to and backstage details of the letters.

Besides Ts'ui Jung-chih's reaction, the letters also produced other reverberations. The persons mentioned in them expressed their opinions, and the chairman of the Chiang Nan Incident Committee also alluded to them in an announcement. In addition, there were numerous comments in the papers. Giving first preference to facts and subscribing to the principle that the more truth is debated, the clearer it becomes, we have reprinted in this issue the reverberations and some newspaper comments on our publication of the letters. Even though some of the comments are somewhat slanderous of this publication (e.g., calling us a "Kuomintang controlled publication"), we have confidence in our

readers' intelligence and judgment; therefore, we deem it unnecessary to refute them. Nevertheless, in the interest of those named in the letters, it appears that one point needs to be made clear: Though Chiang Nan's handwriting has been verified, whether the individuals and facts mentioned in the letters are compatible with the objective reality is something else. By normal inference, intelligence letters as a rule often have the tendency of exaggerating the importance of the author's "work objectives." Whether there are discrepancies between the contents of the letters and actual facts and whether the letters were in fact written by a certain individual are basically two different things.

In terms of the present phase of the development of the case, some Hong Kong scholars expressed their views, either in form of short comments, or by telephone interviews with this publications. The materials in this issue include some rather original ideas.

There are also two additional articles: One article recounts the shock over the letters felt by the Chinese in America, and the other analyzes, from the angle of the Kuomintang-CPC intelligence war, their intelligence value and representative significance.

Synthesizing the open reactions to the letters and explaining the backstage details revealed in them, the articles in this issue can be considered important supplements to the letters published in the previous issue. While we deem it unnecessary to make explanations in regard to the doubts and censures of our publication of the letters, we wish to state the principle of our reportage and analysis, which is:

Toward Chiang Nan, we must seek justice for him and punish his murderers and the chief instigator; toward the public, we also must seek justice, informing it of all aspects of the matter, providing it with the truth as far as possible, and thereby enabling everyone to know how to choose his proper reaction.

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CSO: 4005/638

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

DEVELOPMENTS OF CHIANG NAN MURDER CASE TRACED

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese No 182, Mar 85 pp 36-38

[Article by T'ang I [3282 3015]: "Breakthroughs in the Chiang Nan Case"]

[Text] With Ch'en Ch'i-li's [7115 0796 4409] tape, Chiang Nan's intelligence letters to Taiwan, the American team's 3-day investigation to Taiwan, the hearing of the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee and Taipei's announcement of the trial of the suspects and high-level intelligence personnel, the case is becoming clearer day by day.

After the exclusive report on Ch'en Ch'i-li's tape in WEN HUI PAO on 1 January this year, the case took a sudden turn and developed rapidly, with such successive breakthroughs as Taiwan's admission of the implication of its intelligence personnel and the U.S. NEWSWEEK's report on Chiang Nan's [3068 0589] role as an FBI undercover agent.

Subsequently, the 21 January UPI Taipei dispatch also contained an astonishing report: A high-level intelligence officer divulged at a secret meeting on 17 January that, prior to his death, Chiang Nan did intelligence work for Taiwan, evidenced by tapes in his own voice, written reports in his own hand, receipts for payments made by Taiwan and cancelled checks. The said officer indicated that the photographs and xerox copies of the evidence had been furnished to U.S. judicial authorities for their reference. As for the originals, they would be presented for inspection to the American investigation team after its arrival in Taiwan.

On 22 January, the American three-man team arrived in Taiwan, including an FBI agent, a Daly City police officer and a State Department officer. Taiwan authorities indicated that they would provide the maximum assistance and convenience to the team for early solution of the case.

In regard to the rumor that Chiang Nan was a triple agent, TZU-LI WAN-PAO [INDEPENDENT EVENING NEWS], organ paper of Taiwan's independence movement, cited the words of an unnamed high-level official: In view of the fact that Chiang Nan had written articles critical of the Kuomintang government, Taiwan's intelligence people "would not have been so stupid" as to hire him, for fear of inaccurate information and leakage.

On 23 January, the American team brought a lie detector to interview Ch'en Ch'i-li at the detention center of the Hsin-tien police judge advocate general's office and talked with him three times for a total of 6 hours. Neither the Taiwan government nor the American team was willing to reveal the substance of the interview as it fell within the sphere of investigation.

On the U.S. side, SHIH-CHIEH JIH-PAO [WORLD DAILY], sister paper of Taipei's LIEN-HO PAO [UNITED NEWS], published on 23 January part of the xerox copy of a letter in Chiang Nan's handwriting, dated 1 October, to Taiwan, as proof that Chiang Nan was involved in intelligence work for Taiwan. The letter gave details of the intelligence and material gathered by him during his 23-day trip to mainland China, including military movements and the present conditions of Communist Chinese personnel of the various levels. It was signed "Hsiang-chen," part of his pseudonym "Liu Hsiang-chen [0491 0686 4176]." According to the news account, though the year of the letter was not given, it was, from its content, doubtlessly written in 1984.

Countering the SHIH-CHIEH JIH-PAO and the earlier NEWSWEEK reports, Chiang Nan's widow Ts'ui Jung-chih [1508 5554 5347] held a press conference on 23 January for Chinese and foreign reporters, denying that Chiang Nan worked for the U.S. FBI or gathered Communist Chinese intelligence for Taiwan. However, she admitted that during his trips to mainland China in 1981 and 1982, Chiang Nan did take some pictures and made some films, and might have received "compensation to cover expenses" after they were sent to Taiwan.

On 24 January, the American team talked with Wu Tun [0702 2415], another suspect, for 4 hours and completed the first round of isolated interviews, and the substance of the interview remained confidential.

According to the Taiwan information of the (FRENCH NEWS AGENCY), a Taiwan government figure indicated that the American team did not request meetings with the three high-level intelligence officers involved in the Chiang Nan case. He declared: "In terms of the American investigative personnel, the most important thing was to clarify the plotters and killers in Chiang Nan's assassination. As for the question of who was behind it, it was not important." However, according to a report in the Taiwan CH'IEN-CHIN GUANG-CH'ANG [FORWARD SQUARE], an extraparty publication, the American team had indeed requested the units concerned, through the American Association in Taiwan, for interviews with the detained Intelligence Bureau chief Wang Hsi-ling [3076 1585 5376], deputy chief Hu I-min [5170 0308 2404] and deputy chief of the Third Office Ch'en Hu-men [7115 5706 7024], but was "tactfully refused."

On 25 January, after holding separate interviews with Ch'en Ch'i-li and Wu Tun for a total of more than 6 hours, the American team concluded its 3-day investigation and expressed satisfaction over the results.

On 26 January, REUTER's Taipei information reported the statement of a Taiwan official: Concerned over Taiwan's prestige, especially the possible long-term damage to its relations with the United States, Taiwan's authorities had decided to openly try the suspects of the Chiang Nan case in the near future. But the official refused to say when the trial would take place.

According to the 31 January issue of CHUNG-KUO SHIH-PAO [CHINA TIMES], at a press conference in San Francisco, Daly City police officer Reese, a member of the investigation team, indicated that Ch'en Ch'i-li and Wu Tun frankly admitted their joint assassination of Chiang Nan. In regard to the tape made by Ch'en Ch'i-li, Reese said that the investigation team had obtained it before leaving for Taiwan and that, after meeting with Ch'en Ch'i-li in Taiwan, he was convinced that the voice on the tape was the same as Ch'en Ch'i-li's voice.

In answer to reporters' questions at the press conference, Reese indicated the following:

1. With the help of the San Francisco Chinatown, the case made somewhat a breakthrough at the end of last November.
2. No material relevant to Chiang Nan's alleged espionage work was turned over to him by Taiwan.
3. After the arrival of the team, Taiwan's officials briefed them on the case. The team called on "Taipei's high-level officials," but made no request for interviews with its intelligence officials involved in the case.

In its 30 January Taipei dispatch, the (FRENCH NEWS AGENCY) cited the statement of a Taiwan official that Ch'en Ch'i-li and Wu Tun, gang members, and Wang Hsi-ling, Hu I-min and Ch'en Hu-men, the three high-level intelligence officers, would soon be put on trial in the military court, and that the former would be indicted for murder, but the charges against the latter were yet unclear. However, the official indicated that, "to a certain extent," the trial would be open to the press and the public.

On that same day, according to the UPI Hong Kong dispatch, Hong Kong's CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI published in its most recent issue seven letters allegedly written by Chiang Nan to Taiwan's intelligence officers as proof that, before his death, Chiang Nan gather intelligence for Taiwan. Their mailing dates ranged from February to October 1984, soon before Chiang Nan's assassination. Besides the various activities of the Chinese in America, their contents also included his encouragement of an official of Communist China's Civil Aviation Bureau to defect.

At an interview in America on 31 January by the Hong Kong WEN HUI PAO on the letters, Chiang Nan's widow Ts'ui Jung-chih indicated that she believed that the first letter was written by Chiang Nan to Hsia Hsiao-hua [1115 2556 5478], chief of the TAIWAN JIH-PAO [TAIWAN DAILY], but did not know who the recipients of the remaining letters were. She said that, though Hsia had fairly good relations with Taiwan's intelligence branch and was a close friend of Chiang Nan's, in view of his reply of last March, requesting Chiang Nan to "write more and in greater detail," and if the letters had not been tampered with, they were merely casual and superficial jottings to satisfy Hsia Hsiao-hua in a perfunctory manner, without "intelligence value." Ts'ui Jung-chih also said that Hsia Hsiao-hua forwarded Wang Hsi-ling's \$20,000 gift in three installment checks as "appreciation" for Chiang Nan's consent to review the "Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo."

In another aspect, CHUNG-KUO SHIH-PAO published for the first time on 31 January the contents of Ch'en Ch'i-li's tape. According to the report, confidential material obtained by the paper indicated that the tape was 20 minutes long and was made by Ch'en Ch'i-li prior to leaving America for Taiwan, and that the purpose was to forestall future misunderstandings, because he claimed that he received no money whatsoever for the murder of Chiang Nan.

The confidential material indicates that the tape consists mainly of five parts: 1. self-introduction; 2. the reasons for killing Chiang Nan and Ch'en's relations with the intelligence officers involved in the case; 3. planning and preparations for the crime; 4. the course of the act and participants; 5. purpose for making the tape. It also reveals that there were 3 successive plans for the assassination, but the first two were abandoned.

In terms of the reasons for Chiang Nan's assassination and the course of the act, CH'IEN-CHIN KUANG-CH'ANG reported the following in its 31 January issue:

Ch'en Ch'i-li was closely associated with intelligence officer Ch'en Hu-men. One day, Ch'en Hu-men hinted that the "higher level" was rather displeased with Chiang Nan's intention to write a biography of Wu Kuo-chen [0702 0948 2823], but did not know how he should be "restrained." Ch'en Ch'i-li suggested "getting rid of him" and, after Ch'en Hu-men indicated that "the plan has been consented to," Ch'en Ch'i-li, together with Wu Tun and Tung Kuei-sen [5516 2710 2773], flew to America. All exit formalities were handled by the Intelligence Bureau, which notified the airport through the State Security Bureau for a secret departure.

After arriving in America, Wu Tun and Tung Kuei-sen received more than 2 weeks of training in marksmanship in a California farm. As "assistant chief editor and reporting chairman of the Western U.S. branch of MEI-HUA PAO-TAO [U.S.-CHINESE REPORT], "they boldly called on Chiang Nan at his residence on the pretext of asking him to serve as the publication's special correspondent in America and surveyed and familiarized themselves with the surrounding layout. On 13 October, the two men, in the demeanor of passers-by, again went to the vicinity of Chiang Nan's residence and lingered for 1-plus minutes. The murder was committed on 15 October. During this period, Ch'en Ch'i-li always assumed the role of headquarters commander. After Ch'en and others returned to Taiwan on 21 October, they held many "traitor elimination celebrating banquets" with Ch'en Hu-men and other intelligence officers. To date, CH'IEN-CHIN KUANG-CH'ANG's report has not been verified.

REUTER's 1 February Taipei dispatch reported that Taiwan's Minister of Justice Shih Ch'i-yang [2457 0796 2254] reiterated that Taiwan would not extradite the suspects under U.S. arrest warrants to America, and stressed that the trial of military intelligence officers would be held in secret and closed.

CHUNG-KUO SHIH-PAO reported on 3 February that the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee had decided to hold a hearing on the Chiang Nan incident on 7 February. On the same day, the San Francisco dispatch of the CHINA NEWS AGENCY reported that Wang Ling-chih [3769 7227 2535], chairman of Chiang Nan



Incident Committee, published an announcement to expose and censure the Taiwan authorities for resorting to five tactics to shift U.S. attention on the case.

Taipei's governmental (CENTRAL PRESS) reported on 4 February that Ch'en Ch'i-li and Wu Tun had been delivered on 4 February to the prosecutor's office of the Taipei local court for investigation and handling according to law, and that the implicated personnel of the National Defense Ministry's Intelligence Bureau had also been transferred to the military prosecutor's office.

On 5 February, WEN HUI PAO reported that Ts'ui Jung-chih, attorney Ko-ch'i-k'o [phonetic] [Jerome Cohen?] and "Chiang Nan Incident Committee" chairman Wang Ling-chih would attend the congressional hearing on 7 February. It was anticipated that Ts'ui Jung-chih would make three requests at the hearing: extradition of the suspects to America for trial; attendance of members of the extraparty liberal faction at Taiwan's trials; and publication of the full text of the tape. Among the numerous data to be brought by her to the hearing would be an article, published in Taiwan's extraparty periodical FA-YANG CHOU-K'AN [CARRY FORWARD WEEKLY] and reprinted in New York's HUA-YU K'UAI-PAO [CHINESE LANGUAGE BULLETIN], which revealed the behind-the-scenes details. The article revealed that a Chiang attended all three meetings to plot Chiang Nan's assassination and that Ch'en Ch'i-li addressed him as "second elder brother Chiang," indicating Chiang Hsiao-wu [5592 1321 2976]. It also pointed out that high-level officials of the Kuomintang's overseas organs attended in succession a HUA-MEI PAO-TAO [CHINESE-U.S. REPORT] cocktail party given by Ch'en Ch'i-li and others in Houston.

CH'IEH-CHIN CHOU-K'AN also published an article revealing the relations of Ch'en Ch'i-li with Chiang Hsiao-wu. According to the article, a founder and important member of the "LIEN-HO PAO [UNITED NEWS] faction," Ch'en Ch'i-li's father was a long-standing close friend of Wang T'i-wu [3769 1912 0710], who had been a member of the presidential guard. Thus, Ch'en Ch'i-li's relations with the official residence were quite friendly, and his contact with Chiang Hsiao-wu gradually progressed to the stage of addressing each other as brothers. The article believed that the expansion of the "Bamboo Gang" had something to do with Chiang Hsiao-wu, and that the Chiang Nan case was bound to be connected to a certain extent with him.

One passage in a dispatch from its special San Francisco correspondent published by WEN HUI PAO on 7 February stated that "Chiang Nan was not a saint. He made many mistakes in his life, and the seven intelligence letters were one of them," thereby basically admitting the authenticity of the letters published by CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI. It was the first time for Hong Kong's leftist papers to declare its stand on the letters.

On that day, the congressional hearing was held in Washington, and Ts'ui Jung-chih accused the Taiwan government for ordering Chiang Nan's assassination. She stated that, not long before he was killed, Chiang Nan signed a contract with Wu Kuo-chen's family, giving him access to the family's voluminous files, in order to write the "Biography of Wu Kuo-chen," and that many people believed that it was the main reason for the Taiwan authorities to order his assassination.

When asked whether, as Taiwan's high-level officials should understand the potentially serious consequences of ordering an assassination in the United States, it could be assumed that the assassination was "by the order of an ignorant lower level," she replied: "I really don't know. The case has not been completely solved. Perhaps there was a certain kind of power struggle-- a certain internal split in Taiwan."

At the hearing, Ts'ui Jung-chih revealed that the FBI had long been aware of the \$17,000 (for his consent to revise the "Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo") received by Chiang Nan prior to his death, because it interviewed him several times on the matter.

With the development of the incident, the entire case is gradually becoming clear, but, because of the secrecy painstakingly maintained by the participating personnel, much inside information is unknown to the outside world. One believes that, with Taiwan's open trial and the publication of the results of the investigation team's 3-day effort in Taiwan and the contents of Ch'en Ch'i-li's tape, the whole truth will be clarified.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

INTERNAL STRUGGLES IN WRITERS' ASSOCIATION DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 88, Feb 85 pp 12-15

[Article by special correspondent Hsiao Ch'ung [2556 0394]: "Internal Struggles in the Election of the Fourth Congress of the China Writers' Association"]

[Text] One long-standing flaw of the CPC's system is the entrenched patriarchy in organization, which suppresses democracy, freedom and personal initiative, causing stagnation and damage to its own cause and bringing calamity to the country and the people.

One may say that there was a tremendous shift and breakthrough in the organizational line of the China Writers' Association's fourth national congress. It was an attempt at and a harbinger of the introduction of true democratic elections, and its significance was momentous.

As Communist China itself and its social organizations always held spurious democratic elections, it was inevitable for the liberals and "Leftists" to wage open and secret struggles in the board of directors election at the congress, to the extent of a number of "comedies" and "farces"....

The CPC's "Intervention"

In view of the scandal of the election of the Shanghai Literature and Art Federation congress last fall, the party Central Committee's Secretariat paid close attention to the writers' association election and "intervened" early on, thereby strengthening the democratic element of the election.

Prior to the congress, the Central Secretariat specially held a conference on literary and artistic issues. In principle, the CPC would not intervene in the election, which would be a genuine democratic election.

Though momentarily throwing some people in the association into confusion, it was a sign of the CPC's initial trust and confidence in the writers and an encouragement for a successful congress.

The 815 delegates to the congress included 129 directors of the previous session, 562 regular delegates and 124 specially invited delegates. The

directors of the previous session were delegates as a matter of course, the regular delegates, engendered by separate elections in the various areas in the later period of the campaign against "spiritual pollution," were tinged with diverse political hues, and the special delegates were "specially invited" by the branch associations of the various areas according to practical conditions.

### "Bai Hua's Repercussions"

Due to the time, the complex political factors and the party Central Committee's "intervention" when the delegates were engendered, many problems emerged in the election of the new board of directors, upsetting the smug calculations of some and surprising others. These were mainly manifested in the struggle over the nomination of candidates.

For instance, some areas (Beijing, Shanghai), with their superabundance of talents, had many more qualified people than could be nominated. Thus, with the numerical limit, many writers of national influence found it difficult to gain a foothold among all the highly qualified. On the other hand, either due to "Leftist" interference or the mischief of factionalism, many outstanding writers failed to be nominated. In view thereof, appropriate readjustments were made at the preparatory meeting.

The most noticeable was Bai Hua [4101 2901] (director of the previous session). Due to the "Bai Hua incident," he was not nominated by the army group for the board. In addition, as a result of the "Leftist" ideology and the special military "ideological discipline," the army delegates rarely spoke up for him.

When the nominations were discussed at the preparatory meeting, many non-military writers defended him, and succeeded in his supplementary nomination.

Wei Wei [7614 1550] (director of the previous session), another army delegate, was present. He once plotted with Huang Gang [7806 6921] against "Unrequited Love" and fought shoulder to shoulder with the latter in the battlefield of SHIDAIDI BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] during the campaign against "liberalization." Holding a grudge for failing to "knock down" Bai Hua, he did his utmost to block the latter's nomination. Thus, the moment the author of "Who Is the Most Lovable Person?" heard of the passage of Bai Hua's supplementary nomination, his entire expression changed, and he was not in the least bit "lovable." It was most unpleasant.

Xie Mian [6200 0380] was in the same situation as Bai Hua. Editor in chief of SHI TANSUO [POETIC EXPLORATION] and one of the theoretical pillars of "sommolent poetry," he was criticized in the campaigns against "liberalization" and "pollution." Nor was he nominated by the group representing systems directly under the central government, but was put on the slate of supplementary nomination at the preparatory meeting.

Fujian has very few nationally known young writers to start with, yet Shu Ting [5289 1250], a poet enjoying national and international fame, was at

first not nominated by the province, and she also received supplementary nomination at the preparatory meeting. Her votes at the election actually outnumbered those received by Tian Jian [3944 7035] and Ke Yan [2688 1484].

The most dramatic was the issue of the young woman writer Zhang Kangkang [1728 2123 2123]. Heilongjiang province did not nominate her. There was a loud clamor for her supplementary nomination at the preparatory meeting, but Heilongjiang mounted a surprise attack and read aloud a report on her "lack of discretion in private life." As a result, preconceived ideas kept a strong hold, and she was left out. Heilongjiang's "legally" designated candidates were Cheng Shuzhen [4453 2885 5271] and Jiao Zuyao [3542 4371 1031], but neither was elected, making the province one of the three "zero provinces" (the other two being Guangdong and Gansu). The congress had to allocate it two "free tickets" out of the 10 reserves and made Cheng Shuzhen and Lin Yucheng [2651 0056 2052] directors of the national association.

Though not nominated, Zhang Kangkang received 22 votes, the highest among votes cast for noncandidates.

Thus are the "Chinese-model" elections. The nomination of candidates is extremely undemocratic, and those not nominated will never receive majority votes and be elected. Such is the practice of "Chinese-model" democratic elections.

The "Coup d'Etat" in Beijing and Shanghai

For this very reason, the struggles for nomination at the congress were extremely fierce, and a "coup d'etat" erupted in both the Shanghai and Beijing groups.

In the Beijing group, Liu Shaotang [0491 4801 2768], the "child prodigy" of former days, was conceited over his own talent, relied on his great popularity, and felt that he could sit back and relax over the election, but, to his surprise, he became the target of the coup.

As it turned out, Liu Shaotang took an excessively "clear-cut stand" during the 1983 campaign against "spiritual pollution" and offended a large group of young writers of the "modern faction," whose many top writers were members of the Beijing writers' association. Not that the "modern school" writers were so petty, but, because Liu Shaotang was a "habitual offender," his "factional" insult of the "modernists" could not be overlooked. At a meeting to talk to the young people during the campaign against "pollution," someone handed him a note which said: "Isn't the CPC great, glorious, accurate and invincible? Why does it have to resist the 'modern school' and 'existentialism' and fear them so much?" After reading it, Liu Shaotang stood up and asked: "Do you think that my health is good?" Seeing his ruddy complexion, everyone said "Excellent!" He then asked: "Why couldn't I swallow flies?" Reportedly, his "ingenious metaphor" was greatly appreciated by the "Leftist" chieftains, but it also broadened the gap between him and the young writers.

Nevertheless, due to the lack of experience, the "modernists'" "coup" failed to strip Liu Shaotang of his candidacy, but he was so frightened that he broke out in a cold sweat. After this encounter, it is believed that he will restrain himself and avoid rashness in the future.

The battle in the Shanghai group, with its numerous internal complications, was even more bewildering. At the end of its trail, Shanghai's "Leftist" faction had long been discredited and basically could get nowhere at the congress. Therefore, at the preparatory meeting, Du Xuan's [2629 1357] name was promptly removed from the original slate of candidates. The meeting added Mei Duo [2734 2614] and Ai Ming [5337 2494] as Shanghai's supplementary candidates, and the Shanghai group voiced no objection. Nevertheless, on the eve of election, it reneged before going into battle and crossed out Mei Duo's name on the printed slate. The congress censured it for failing to object at the preparatory meeting, but, impervious to reason, it insisted on deleting Mei Duo's name or else the congress would have to be "responsible for the consequences."

One of the founders of DAZONG DIANYING [POPULAR MOVIE] with a circulation of almost 10 million on the mainland and the current editor-in-chief of Shanghai's WENYI YUEKAN [LITERATURE MONTHLY], Mei Duo is a liberal and has made the magazine lively and distinctive. However, he keeps to himself and is unskilled in forming cliques and factions. It was the reason for the "disadvantage" suffered by him at the nomination. As his name was not on the slate, he was not elected. Nevertheless, disregarding the pressure exerted by the "Shanghai clique," the congress gave him 1 of the 10 reserves and made him a director.

Reportedly, those controlling the "political situation" of Shanghai's literary world this time were Wu Qiang [0702 1730] and others. Wu Qiang was known overseas as a "Leftist chieftain," but it was not compatible with the facts. Nevertheless, according to Shanghai's writers, though not "Leftist," Wu Qiang is domineering and arrogant. The election this time also illustrated the issue.

#### The Joys and Sorrows of the "Lone Rangers"

The lot of Mei Duo, whenever mentioned, inevitably reminds us of the facts of the "lone rangers" in China's world literary world who come and go on their own.

At the election this time, same as other branches, the problem of advisers also emerged in the writers' association. The choice of advisers is mainly based on age, health and work ability. Those who have been ailing over an extended time and lost the capacity to handle affairs can only serve as advisers. Nevertheless, it was not so simple, and the matter was rife with internal struggles. Wishing to get rid of a certain veteran writer, some people would forcibly place his name of the slate of advisers.

Veteran writer Yan Wenjing [0917 2429 0064], once the editor-in-chief of RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE], was forcibly nominated as an adviser

at the beginning. The reason was because he once supported the "modernists" and became unpopular with the criticizers, but the more important reason was because, simple and candid, he was a "lone ranger" and had little support. Nevertheless, young writers Gao Xingjian [7559 5887 0256], Kong Jiesheng [1313 2212 3932] and others of the "modern school," who had benefited from his guidance and advice, felt that, at only 70 years of age, he was still alert and healthy and able to handle affairs. They requested the congress to remove his name from the advisers' slate and make him a directorial candidate. The result was that he was elected not only with a large majority, but also as a member of the presidium.

The "lone rangers" elected with a fairly wide margin also included Ai Qing [5337 7230]. Though he had criticized "somnolent poetry" and made "positive manifestations" during the campaign against "pollution," Ai Qing is ordinarily considered liberal. Not long ago, Ding Ling [0002 3781] invited him to a reception for the founding of ZHONGGUO WENXUE [CHINA LITERATURE] and personally greeted him at the door. However, dissatisfied with Ding Ling's practice of forming cliques, Ai Qing firmly insisted on removing his name from the periodical's list of advisers, much to Ding Ling's chagrin. This move was greatly appreciated by the young writers.

There is also a very famous "long ranger" among the young writers. He is neither a "modernist," nor a "potato." His writing stirred up controversies many times, attracted wide attention and were known abroad. It is Shaanxi's young writer Jia Pingyao [6328 1627 0425]. However, as Shaanxi's literary world was controlled by Hu Cai [5170 6846], Du Pengcheng [2629 7720 4453], Wang Wenshi [3769 3080 4258] and others whose thinking was "Leftist," Jia Pingyao was not nominated, but received a supplementary nomination at the preparatory meeting. The result was that he was among the 50 winning a large majority among the 230 current directors elected, far outstripping Wang Wenshi and Hu Cai.

Compared with the joys and sorrows of the "lone rangers," the "Leftist chieftains" could only feel sorrow at this election. We have already discussed Du Xuan. Reportedly, Xia Zhengnong [1115 1767 6593] received only one vote (probably cast by Du Xuan). He Jingzhi [6320 2417 0037] was a vice chairman of the association in the previous session and is currently a deputy director of the Central Propaganda Department. Even a few months ago, he was a highly popular figure, not to mention the time of the campaigns against "liberalization" and "pollution," but this time he failed to be elected to the presidium. At the previous congress, Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038] gave the opening speech and served as a vice chairman, but this time he lost his vice chairmanship and had to be satisfied with a membership on the presidium. Ouyang Shan [2962 7122 1472], another vice chairman in the previous session, was also ousted this time.

### Bringing Up "Historical Issues"

At the previous congress 5 years ago, young writer delegates were as rare as stars at dawn. Among the directors, the so-called young delegates consisted of only the not-so-young Liu Xinwu [0491 1800 2976] and Jiang Zilong [5592 1311 7893]. At the current congress, the number of young writer delegates increased to more than 150, and over 30 of them were elected to the board.

Why was there such a transformation? Besides the tendency of the "age factor" in the national reforms, what was even more important was that, after 5 years of tempering, the young writers had begun to play the main roles among the ranks. A few years ago, the main force of the literary world rested in the "7 May warriors" (rightist writers), but began to shift in recent years, and those brilliant and illustrious in creative writing are mainly young writers of the "three old sessions" (middle school graduates in the early days of the Cultural Revolution).

At the congress this time, Bei Dao [0554 1497], Gu Cheng [7357 1004], Dai Houying [2071 0624 5291], author of "Man, Oh Man!", Yu Luojin [6657 5012 6930], author of "Fairy Tales of Spring," Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395], author of "General, You Must Not Do This," Sun Jingxuan [1327 7234 6513], author of "A Ghost Roams the Earth of China" and Sha Yexin [3097 5509 2450], author of "Swindler," who are all main representatives of "sommolent poetry," did not attend, attracting the attention of the outside world by their absence.

The absence of Bei Dao and Gu Cheng was because, not yet members of the national association, they were not qualified as regular delegates (the specially invited delegates were qualified). Gu Cheng joined the Beijing writers' association in 1982, but, due to the issue of "sommolent poetry," was unable to join the national association. Reportedly, "modernists" Kong Jiesheng and others interceded for Bei Dao and others at the congress this time, and the authorities promised to admit them to national membership.

Dai Houying was absent because, besides not being a national member, she was not even a member of the Shanghai branch. Her unpopularity left and right in Shanghai involved extremely complicated historical issues. She had long desired for a transfer from Shanghai to Guangdong. (Her "Man, Oh Man?" was published with Guangdong's support, and recently Guangdong's literary world planned to reverse the criticism of the book in former years). Reportedly she has been transferred recently to Shantou University as an assistant professor.

It seems that Yu Luojin is not a national member (though a member of the Beijing branch), and Sha Yexin is only a member of the playwrights' association, not a member of the writers' association. As for Ye Wenfu and Sun Jingxuan, their absence was probably linked with political factors.

In the closing address at the congress, Wang Meng [3769 6635] declared: "Whenever I think of our outstanding and popular writers who cannot fully utilize the glorious freedom of creation to concentrate on writing, but have to waste so much valuable energy to fend off attacks and maneuver around obstacles, I feel like crying but have no tears! It is indeed a tragedy! It must not be permitted to continue!"

His comment probably included the writers discussed above. We hope that after this congress, the issues left by history can be truly solved, and the performance of the "tragedy" mentioned by him stopped. Only thus will it deserve to be called freedom of creation.



15 May 1985

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

PRC WRITERS OPPOSE PERSECUTION, ULTRALEFTIST LINE

HK081001 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 89, 1 Mar 85 pp 6-10

["Notes on a Northern Journey" by Lo Ping [5012 0393]: "The 'Leftist' Department heads Who Persecute Writers Suffer Setbacks"--completed on 5 Feb 1985]

[Text] "Have you heard of the new personnel arrangements for the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee/"

Three well-informed friends asked me the same question and I invariably replied: "I only know that Deng Liqun is being hospitalized, that his political malady is much more serious than his senility, that Hu Qiaomu is particularly active...."

Do the words "particularly active" show that these "leftist" kings and "kings of kings" are still in power?

My friends told me about some recent events which had taken place inside and outside Zhongnanhai.

In His "Internal Speech" Hu Yaobang Talks About Living "A Long and Quiet Life"

Recently Hu Yaobang delivered a meaningful "internal speech" on the building of leading bodies. He said:

"We should not demand perfection from young cadres. As long as their strong points are predominant, we should go all out to support them. If they are really no good, let history eliminate them! Should we concentrate on helping them or incessantly criticize them on some secondary issues? I think we should go all out to help them. It is sufficient to advance our criticism several times a year. We should put commendation first and criticism second.

"For the long-term interests of the party and the state, the old red army men are over 70 years of age should straighten out their thinking on this issue and so should the cadres from the north working in the south who are over 55 years of age. The principal task of the old comrades who are over 70 years of age is to live a long life. Their first task is to live a long life as are their second and third tasks. They should live an idle and quiet life in order to live longer.

"I use three sentences to sum up what I have said above: The first echelon of leadership should live a long and quiet life; the second should help the new talented individuals; and the third should work with all their might. It is hoped that all comrades will jointly observe them and unite closely so that our country can achieve eternal prosperity."

Naturally, these remarks were aimed at the old cadres. People cannot help laughing when they hear that the principal task of the "old comrades" who are over 70 years of age should be to "live a long and quiet life" but this is not without reason. Some confirmed "leftist" with rigid thinking, in particular, are fond of stirring up trouble. If we do not let them "live a long and quiet life," a lot of work will surely be affected. Hu Yaobang's remarks were aimed at Hu Qiaomu in the Political Bureau of CPC Central Committee and Deng Liqun in the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee.

#### Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun Want To Make a Breakthrough in the "Anti-Rightist" Struggle

All cultural people in Beijing know that Deng Liqun, member of the Secretariat and head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, has the "direct backing" of Hu Qiaomu and Wang Zhen, two members of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. Naturally, there are still other supporters behind the backstage supporters. But even with the support of only two members of the Political Bureau, Deng Liqun can hold on to his post. However, the present domestic situation is much different from that in the 1950's. The masses of people have learned to think independently and quite a lot of people in the CPC have also undergone a process of self-examination. The great economic reform and liberalization have also touched upon the superstructure. Under such circumstances, only by gradually liberalizing other fields as well as it is possible to preserve political stability, economic development, and the continued introduction of science and technology, foreign funds, talented individuals, and intellectual resources. Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, and Wan Li quite understand the situation but the leftist kings in the Political Bureau and the Secretariat ignore this objective situation and logic and so their representative figure Deng Liqun repeatedly has fits of "leftism." After unfolding in a big way the movement "to eliminate spiritual pollution," the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee again attempted to wage an "anti-rightist" struggle, with Wu Zuguang as the main target of the struggle. By making Wu the target of criticism they wanted to make a breakthrough in the "anti-rightist" struggle and then to revive the movement to "eliminate spiritual pollution." However, the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee suffered a setback in attacking the forces opposed to the "elimination of spiritual pollution." In the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers' Association held toward the end of last year and the beginning of this year, the Propaganda Department even met its Waterloo in its fit of "leftism."

#### The Persecution Started at the Beginning of Last Year

The process of making Wu Zuguang the target of criticism was as follows:

In early August 1983, just before the launching of the movement to "eliminate spiritual pollution," Wu Zuguang, along with Ru Zhijuan and Wang Anyi, went to the United States to take part in the activities of the International Writing Center of Iowa University. In reply to questions on "eliminating spiritual pollution" raised by some Chinese-American students, Wu said: It is unscientific to set forth the issue of "eliminating spiritual pollution." It is impossible to "eliminate" pollution in the air and rivers, still less in the spirit. I think the persons who raised this slogan have lost confidence in themselves. At least this is a manifestation of their lack of confidence. Four months later Wu, Ru and Wang returned home via Hong Kong. While they were in Hong Kong, Wu had a discussion meeting with people in the Hong Kong literature and art circles. During the meeting some people (including reporters) raised the question of "eliminating spiritual pollution," and Wu answered it in the same way as he had in the United States. When asked about his impression of Hong Kong, Wu Zuguang frankly said: "Hong Kong is very free." Based on facts, all these views are unassailable. However, he was persecuted a couple of months after he returned to the interior.

At first a deputy head of the Art Bureau of the Ministry of Culture conducted a recorded interrogation on him. Later the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee issued an "internal circular" on this matter in an attempt to "expose" Wu Zuguang's "crimes" among the country's senior leading cadres.

#### He Jingzhi Threatens to Apply "Legal Sanctions"

A great fellow, Wu Zuguang resolutely struggled against ultraleftist forces. In mid May 1984 he submitted a motion at a CPPCC meeting: We should no longer conduct political movements, even though they are not called ones, lest we should break our promise to the people. This was a bugle call of resolute opposition to "leftism," which was obviously directed against the movement "to eliminate spiritual pollution." Undoubtedly, this motion touched Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun to the quick. Therefore, an "anti-rightist" struggle with Wu Zuguang as the main target of criticism was brewing.

In mid-September 1984, without the knowledge of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and under the pretext of conducting ideological mobilization for the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers' Association scheduled to be held in December, the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee convened a forum of more than 50 literature and art workers and cadres from various provinces and municipalities, whom they considered "quite reliable" or as "posing no great problems." Quoting a lot of "leftist" phrases in his opening address, He Jingzhi, deputy head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee stressed that it was still necessary for the literature and art circles to wage "anti-rightist" struggle and the struggle "against spiritual pollution." In the January 1985 issue of CHENG MING I reported on the "anti-rightist" meeting engineered by Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun. Here I would like to make some additional remarks. In the second half of his opening address, which contained the focal point of his speech, He Jingzhi made an example of Wu Zuguang without mentioning him by name. He Jingzhi said that Wu's remarks abroad ran counter to the resolution of the CPC Central Committee and denied the significance of "eliminating spiritual

pollution." After that, he criticized Wu from the higher plane of principle and two-line struggle, saying that Wu had made not ordinary but political mistakes and that since Wu had violated discipline concerning external affairs, legal sanctions would be applied against him when necessary. Although He did not mention Wu by name, the participants knew who he was hinting at. At that time this right-hand man of Deng Liqun was both derocious and truculent, which was quite terrifying.

#### Deng Liqun Is Criticized, He Jingzhi makes A Fool of Himself

However, when Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang heard about the forum, the leftist king and general got into trouble. After reading the text of He Jingzhi's opening address, Deng and others were so angry that they gave Deng Liqun a dressing down for conducting an "anti-rightist" struggle without the knowledge of the central authorities. Breaking out in a cold sweat, Deng Liqun crestfallenly suggested that the forum be suspended before it was over. Deng Xiaoping instructed: The meeting should not be suspended. It may be held as scheduled but it is necessary to write a closing address which is entirely different from the spirit of "anti-rightist" struggle stressed in the opening address. The closing address should still be read out by He Jingzhi. Then Hu Qili was instructed to preside over the drafting of the closing address which, according to the strict instructions of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang, must be read out word for word. At the concluding session of the forum, people noticed that He Jingzhi embarrassedly reading out the closing addressing directed against "leftism" while Hu Qili looked at the text of the closing address with rapt attention seemingly for fear that He Jingzhi would miss a single character.

It was unprecedented in the history of China's literature and art that a meeting should open with an "anti-rightist" topic and end with one of struggling against "leftism." The radical turn of the meeting greatly encouraged the writers opposing "leftism" and struck a hard blow at the leftist lords.

#### The "Leftist" Department Head Dodges by Pleading Illness

From the very beginning, the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers' Association, which opened in late December 1984, held aloft the bright-colored banner of opposing "leftism." Learning of the forthcoming meeting, the "leftist" head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and a backstage supporter stayed away from the meeting. Hu Qiaomu went to Guangdong and Guangxi. Deng Liqun was hospitalized pleading illness, and He Jingzhi absented himself after attending the meeting several times.

Nevertheless, these lords, such as Hu Qiaomu, Deng Liqun, and He Jingzhi, were subject to the silent denunciation of the writers at the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers' Association. The messages of congratulations from Hu Qiaomu and Deng Liqun were greeted with silence by the participants and, as I reported in the "Notes on a Northern Trip" column in the February issue of CHENG MING, silence was also a form of struggle. It should be added, however, that Wu Zuguang's speech at the meeting was a struggle against persecution carried out by the persecuted out of a sense of justice. My previous report centered on

the struggle against "leftism" in the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers' Association. I did not include Wu's speech at that time because, not having read the full text of his speech, I was afraid that I would record one item while omitting 10,000 and because I wanted to gather news in a deep-going way and to make another more comprehensive, complete, and substantial report centering on the persecution of Wu Zuguang and his struggle against persecution. A friend of mine, who edited Wu Zuguang's speech enabled me to see the struggle more clearly and to report to the readers more accurately. The speech, which was delivered after the council member elections, lasted about 30 minutes. The reaction was extremely enthusiastic, applauded on no less than 20 occasions. It can be regarded as the climax of the meeting. Please listen:

#### Wu Zuguang's Sonorous Speech

"The persecution of the literature and art circles by the leftist line must not be allowed to continue. However, the persecution we have been subjected to has not stopped even now.

"A (Hong Kong) reporter asked me about my impression of Hong Kong and I replied that Hong Kong is very good. When he asked me to be more specific, I said: 'It is very free in Hong Kong.' This remark was thus extended into a lack of freedom on the mainland. Even so, what I said was not wrong. If we have always had freedom of creation, why is it necessary for the CPC Central Committee to ensure freedom of creation today? This shows that we were not free in the past.

"I have aired my views in public. If I am wrong, you can criticize me. What was the use of issuing an internal circular? Moreover, at a so-called 'forum' a leading comrade went so far as to say that a certain person publicly opposed the resolution of the CPC Central Committee in his speech and that legal sanctions should be applied against him. Obviously, this remark was directed against me. I only aired my views about the so-called 'movement to eliminate spiritual pollution,' which was unpopular, and yet I must be subjected to 'legal sanctions'; what about you who, taking a bludgeon, strike at this person today, at that person tomorrow, and at any person you want? Should you not be subjected to 'legal sanctions'?

"In his congratulatory speech Comrade Hu Qili pointed out: Some comrades leading literature and art work are good ones but they have not carried out their work well. They have many shortcomings and have made many mistakes because they do not understand literature and art. This is well said but I would like to add a few words: It is understandable, excusable, and tolerable that some comrades who do not understand literature and art should have shortcomings and mistakes in leading literature and art work. But I want to say: If a person who understand literature and art work, such as a poet, an artist, or a literature and art expert, should lead literature and art work, the bad deeds he performs would be more terrible and detestable...."

#### Powerful Protest Against He Jingzhi

Those were forceful remarks! Who did "you" refer to in "you who, taking up a bludgeon, strike at this person today...." Who did "he" refer to in "such as

a poet, an artist...the bad deeds he performs would be more terrible and detestable...."? They referred to He Jingzhi.

When He was just a poet, he was not a person of the ultraleftist line although he had written such "literature of the obedient" as the "Song of Ouyang Hai." However, when he became an official and held the post of deputy head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, he did his utmost to row his dugout canoe in the muddy ultraleftist stream. He also took up a bludgeon to "strike at this person today and at that person tomorrow." His persecution of Wu Zuguang was the most conspicuous persecution of a writer by the leftist line in recent years. As a reporter, I think I have a duty to expose this illegal practice of making people the target of criticism characteristic of the Cultural Revolution.

What crimes has Wu Zuguang committed? None! It is the ultraleftist elements who have committed crimes. As far as its incisiveness is concerned, Wu Zuguang's justifiable statement was the most conspicuous and forceful among the speeches delivered at the Congress of the Writers' Association. It was a statement of grievances against persecution and also a song of righteousness directed against leftist officials. It was not merely a statement in self-defense by an individual; it also expressed the innermost feelings of writers and other people in the cultural circles. That was why Wu Zuguang's speech was greeted with applause on more than 20 occasions. It was not only powerful support from the writers to the persecuted but also a strong protest against the persecutors!

As soon as Wu Zuguang finished his speech, innumerable people vied with one another to shake his hand. This heavy and warm atmosphere was rarely seen in the course of the congress.

"I am Willing To Go to Prison With Him"

Someone said that if Wu Zuguang had delivered his speech before the elections of council members as originally scheduled, the election results would have been affected to some extent and it would have been more difficult for the ultraleftist elements to be elected. It was a pity that due to the opposition of his wife Xin Fengxia, Wu was able to speak only after the council member elections. However, nobody blamed her for this. On the contrary, they sympathized with her. The persecution she suffered in the past and the current existence of the ultraleftist forces, as well as the terrifying atmosphere they generated, left this artist and writer, who is loyal to her work and love, with a lingering fear. Wu's encouragement, perhaps, and also the enthusiastic response of the participants to Wu's speech provided her with tremendous spiritual strength. Sitting in her wheel chair, she also made a speech the following day, dealing chiefly with the endless persecution she had suffered under the ultraleftist line pursued for several decades by the leaders and the secretaries of the CPC committee of the theatrical troupe in which she worked. She said: "I shall not hold back Wu Zuguang any longer. If he should be punished as he had in the past for his words in defending the interests of the party and the people, I am willing to go to prison with him. I am not afraid of open discussion but I am afraid of the small tricks played by those ultraleftist persons,

who take advantage of their powers to make things hard for me and who are keen plotting against other people. It is easy to dodge a spear in the open but hard to guard against an arrow shot from hiding."

In conclusion, this well-known pingju [Chinese opera, a local opera of north and northeast China] actress sang a section of an old pingju drama, "Su Xiaoxiao," which narrates the story of a weak woman who, after being persecuted to death, lodges a complaint against her persecutors with the judge in hell. Quite a few people wept at hearing her song.

#### The Ultra-leftist Forces Will Not Take Things Lying Down

When Wu Zuguang took to the floor, He Jingzhi was not present at the meeting. Neither was the buzzing of the "leftist" flies heard after the speech. It can be said that the struggle against persecution was a complete success, the score being 100 to 1. In the elections of Writers' Association council members, He Jingzhi ranked 103d in the number of votes he received and his wife Ke Yan, who enjoyed some reputation although her prestige in the poetic world could not be compared with that of her husband, ranked 142d, below Shu Ting, a young new poet. He Jingzhi was originally listed as candidate for the Presidium of the Writers' Association but he failed in the elections.

It can thus be seen that the ultraleftist line and elements were unpopular.

However, the ultraleftist forces will not take things lying down. With the power and bludgeon in their hands, they will surely wait for an opportune moment to go into action.

The powers of Hu Qiaomu, the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, Deng Liqun, and He Jingzhi should not be underestimated. We can see this from the elections of the Writers' Association.

#### "Invalid" Has Become "Valid" in a Disguised Form

It happened that the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee attached great importance to the Writers' Association Congress. On 20 December the Secretariat discussed the report which Zhang Guangnian was to deliver at the meeting. When someone asked about the choice of leaders for the next China Federation of Literature and Art Circles and the various associations of literature and art circles, Hu Yaobang said that it was necessary to conduct democratic elections, that the lists should not be decided by a small number of people as in the past, and that the lists which had been drafted would not be valid any more. When someone asked whether this was a mandatory or guidance view, Hu replied that the lists were invalid. It can thus be seen that Hu Yaobang has a mind to conduct democratic elections. In the course of discussing the election of leaders of various federations, Wan Li, who attended the Secretariat meeting, chipped in: Both the China Federation of Literature and Art Circles and the China Federation of Literature and Art Workers are nongovernmental or mass organizations. The party should not interfere with them. However, in the elections of the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers' Association, people noticed that the method of deciding the list by a small number of people was

still adopted, the only difference being that the participants were allowed to choose about three-quarters of people from the list of candidates for council members. The choice of chairmen and vice chairmen of the Writers' Association was not sufficiently democratic either.

Were the "invalid" lists of candidates referred to by Hu Yaobang changed into "valid" ones with the perpetration of a gigantic fraud? Quite a few people could not believe that He Jingzhi had not played a small trick.

The Personnel Network of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee

In truth, the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, Deng Liqun, and He Jingzhi have a firm control of all national literature and art organizations. This is because secretariats have been established in either the China Federation of Literature and Art Circles or the various other federations, with all members of the secretariats appointed or led by the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee. This is an organizational and ideological network. Even if the people from the literature and art circles had been granted some freedom, they would have not been able to slip out of the net. Wan Li favors the dismantlement of the net. This is indeed a good thing which the writers and artists have longed for day and night. But can it be realized? Wan Li's remark at the Secretariat was not relayed to the public. We can thus see that it is not so easy to solve this problem.

The policy makers at Zhongnanhai seem to be inclined to readjust the personnel of party organizations in order to ease the relationships between the higher and lower levels. The upper echelons recently spread the news of a shakeup in the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee.

Deng Liqun will surely be the first to step down. At present he is performing the task of "living a long and quiet life." Both he and He Jingzhi have been hospitalized pleading illness. Under the present situation, however, political malady is practically an incurable disease.

Who will take over from Deng Liqun? This is a question of great concern to the Beijing literature and art circles.

Choice of New Department Head: Gao Zhanxiang, Yu Xingyan, or Wang Ruoshui?

It was disclosed by the upper echelons that the Secretariat and the policy makers of the CPC Central Committee are considering a "list of candidates" for the new head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, which contains three names: Gao Zhanxiang, Yu Xingyan, and Wang Ruoshui.

Wang Ruoshui, former deputy editor in chief of RENMIN RIBAO who was criticized for advocating the "theory of alienation," has a fairly high educational and theoretical level and is highly capable. He is very popular, enjoys a good reputation, and is well received in the cultural circles. But as a choice of head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, he will probably be unacceptable to some members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee.



Currently working in the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee, Yu Xingyan often publishes short commentaries in Beijing newspapers and magazines. He is quite "leftist" and also quite rigid in this thinking. His articles, which were carried in the January 1984 issue of WENYI BAO and the first issue of Shiyue [October], reflected his ideological tendencies. The Beijing cultural circles do not have a good opinion of him.

Gao Zhanxiang is secretary of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee. Born into a family of the "five red categories" (referring to workers, peasants, cadres, army men and revolutionary martyrs), Gao once worked as a worker-turned writer. During the "Cultural Revolution" he was promoted to the post of vice secretary of the CYL Central Committee. The cultural circles in Beijing quite like him because "Gao Zhanxiang is Hu Yaobang's protege" and because during his term of office as secretary of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee, he has been concerned with the livelihood of writers and got along well with writers.

When I started writing this article (5 February), I had not heard of the final decision on the choice of head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee. The March issue of CHENG MING will have to be printed at an early date because of the Spring Festival. Will the things written above be stale news when they are published?

Hu Qiaomu Makes a Long Trip to Guangzhou To "Seek the Limelight"

Hu Qiaomu, the "direct backstage supporter" of Deng Liqun and He Jingzhi, is now in wretched circumstances because his prestige in the cultural circles has fallen sharply.

When the Fourth Congress of the Chinese Writers' Association was in session, Hu Qiaomu conducted "investigation and study" in Guangdong. He went to Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and other places under the name of carrying out an "inspection tour." In fact, he received education there. While in Guangzhou, he took advantage of watching theatrical performances to "seek the limelight" repeatedly. What was more spectacular was that he published an article entitled "It Is Hoped That All People Will Watch 'The Garlands'" in the January 1985 issue of DAZHONG DIANYING, which has led people to suspect that he wanted to build up himself by developing a new model drama.

Hu Qiaomu is reportedly still unwilling to be left alone and refuses to carry out the task of living a "long and quite life." On the contrary, he still avails himself of all opportunities to let people know that he is still alive and kicking and still has power in his hands. I am sure that his recent series of activities is a portrayal of this frame of mind. When the movement "to eliminate spiritual pollution" was denounced, Deng Liqun also put on such performances. Subsequent facts have proven that these face-saving activities were nothing but a reflection of a person in a desperate situation.

Judging from the angle of Wu Zuguang's struggle against his persecutors, the struggle against "leftism" in the literary circles has indeed won a great victory. However, the struggle has definitely not come to an end. People should heighten their vigilance!

CSO: 4005/829

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

CHENG MING VIEWS DIFFERENCES IN PRC OFFICIAL CIRCLES

HK081255 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 4, 1 Apr 85 pp 6-10

["Notes on a Northern Journey" by Lo Ping [5012 0392]: "An Earthquake in Mainland Officialdom"]

[Text] SAN YUE FENG [MARCH WIND], a journal chiefly edited by Deng Pufang, has appeared in China's cultural circles. At the same time, in the political circles, there has also been a March wind--a strong wind lashing the new unhealthy tendencies.

What are the new unhealthy tendencies? Although the big shots have not said exactly the same thing, their opinions are largely identical: those practices such as organs and cadres engaging in commercial activities, running enterprises, reselling goods at a profit, and indiscriminately raising prices and giving out bonuses and bonuses in kind, are regarded as the main expressions of the unhealthy tendencies at present.

Three Tendencies Get Entangled with One Another

As a matter of fact, the new unhealthy tendencies are not really new. Several months ago, during the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, Hu Yaobang already warned that the unhealthy tendency characterized by making a fortune through the reform would appear. Later, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued more than 10 documents on rectifying the new unhealthy tendencies. Did "the east wind prevail over the west wind" then? No. The unhealthy tendencies continued to spread. Quite a few localities and units have been persisting in their own ways. They have worked out counter-measures against the policies and refused to enforce orders and prohibitions. In view of this, a number of important meetings have been held during this period, including a meeting of the central Discipline Inspection Commission (held on 8 February), a meeting of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification on the second stage of party rectification (held from 28 February to 6 March), a meeting of the CPC Central Secretariat (held on 4 March), and a meeting of leading cadres of various departments and committees of [words indistinct] 56.6, government, and army organs to be held during the last 10 days of March. The topic for discussion at all these meetings is "rectification of unhealthy tendencies in the new situation." Moreover, some typical cases involving high-ranking cadres have been seriously dealt with.

From this we can see that the higher stratum of the CPC has attached great importance to the problem of rectifying the new unhealthy tendencies. The meetings, documents, circulars, regulations, and the handling of cases have formed another important tendency. In addition, there is also a tendency characterized by opposing the reform under the pretext of combating unhealthy tendencies. These three tendencies have got entangled with one another, resulting in an earthquake in officialdom and the political circles.

#### Document on Using Foreign Exchange Issued in March

During the middle and the last 10 days of March, there were two noticeable measures.

One was the measure to strengthen control of the foreign exchange of state organs and state-owned enterprises.

In February, the CPC Central Committee issued a document to various provinces, cities, and state organs, criticizing some organs and enterprises which had made use of the economic reform and the policy of opening up to the outside world and engaged in illegal activities including reselling foreign exchange at a profit. The document points out that over the past year or so, the illegal buying and selling of foreign exchange has involved a sum of several hundred million yuan (RMB), seriously violated the state's foreign exchange policies, and made the country suffer economic losses. According to the document, all the organs and enterprises, which have foreign exchange for 3 months. It also stipulates that all illegal and criminal activities should be checked in March and all individuals and organs involved should make a clean breast of their mistakes, or they will be severely punished according to law. On 15 March, another document was issued, prohibiting all units using foreign exchange to purchase consumer loans with foreign exchange to those unauthorized or untrustworthy companies.

#### The "Crimes" of Jin, President of the Bank of China

The other was the measure of "hitting at big tigers," which led to the case of discharging Jin Deqin, president of the Bank of China, from his post and prosecuting him.

In order to "set an example" for other organs, the central state organs have adopted measures to check their unhealthy tendencies. Quite a few units have ceased distributing unplanned money and materials among their staff and workers, and compensation has been made for those which have been distributed (such as clothes). It is said that originally, there were many problems in the Ministry of Aeronautics, but since they have checked their problems promptly and delivered a relevant report, they have been pardoned. The Agricultural Bank of China, which has also indiscriminately distributed clothes among staff and workers and which made an examination of its mistakes, has also been "dealt with leniently." However, the Bank of China did not respond to the call immediately and refused to examine its mistakes. For this reason, Jin Deqin, the president, has been discharged from his post and prosecuted.

The discharge of Jin Deqin was disclosed to foreign news agencies by the Bank of China on 15 March without giving details or mentioning the reasons. As a matter of fact, in order to make the punishment a warning to others, the CPC had long before circulated among certain people a notice on Jin Deqin's "crimes" and how his case was treated, which was unknown to ordinary people and foreign reporters. It pointed out that Jin Deqin, a leading cadre of the financial administrative organ, had encouraged and fostered the unhealthy tendencies by indiscriminately giving promotions, increasing wages, and distributing money and materials. The central Discipline Inspection Commission sent people to check the foreign exchange accounts of the bank and a work group to Hong Kong to investigate into the matter. I was told by people in Beijing's financial circles that in addition to these less serious problems, Jin Deqin is also involved in a case involving a large sum of foreign exchange, which he still cannot explain. As the sum involved is so large that I myself can hardly believe it, it will be reported later after being confirmed. But there is one point that I am sure of, that is, the problems of the Bank of China are far more serious than those of the Agricultural Bank.

#### There are reasons for Chen Muhua's Transfer

Following the reorganization of the leading body of the Bank of China, which is in charge of foreign exchange, some changes have also taken place in the leading body of the "Central Bank" (the People's Bank of China), which is in charge of credit loans. Lu Peijian, the former president, is now auditor-general of the state auditing administration, and Chen Muhua, state councilor and former minister of foreign economic relations and trade, has been appointed to his post and becomes president of the People's Bank of China. Former Vice Minister Zheng Tuobin has been promoted and becomes Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade.

Why was Chen Muhua transferred to another post? In the May 1982 issue of CHENG MING, I pointed out in this same column that Chen's post as minister of foreign economic relations and trade was an interim one. Since then I have reported or mentioned many times that she would leave the ministry very soon. As a matter of fact, in 1984, the CPC Central Secretariat and the premier of the State Council had already decided to transfer her from this ministry, because she had not been doing well at her post. Both the people in China and overseas businessmen had many complaints about this. Based on China's official statistics already published, I made a list of the total volume of China's import and export trade, which could, to a certain extent, explain why Chen Muhua was transferred.

This table shows that trade deficits have appeared in China's great leap forward toward Westernization since the downfall of the gang of four, and that the work in foreign trade has not been carried out satisfactorily during this period. At the Third Session of the Fifth NPC and the Third Session of the Fifth CPPCC, which were held in 1980, some people sharply criticized Li Qiang, the then minister of foreign trade, for the confusion in this work. "The (export) goods having the same trade marks often have different prices. For this reason, many foreign businessmen find it very difficult to do business with us without

# Total Volume of China's Import and Export Trade

Year	Import volume (\$100 million)	Export volume (\$100 million)
1975	72.6	74.9
1976	68.6	65.8
1977	75.9	72.1
1978	97.5	108.9
1979	136.6	156.7
1980	182.7	195.5
1981	200.1	200.1
1982	244.5	194.2
1983	238.6	229.6
1984	316.04	377.9

personal relations or without presenting gifts such as lighters and trucks. Otherwise, they would be asked to invite our cadres to visit their countries. This is not a good work style." [RENMIN RIBAO, 6 September 1980, p 3] Since Chen Muhua became minister of foreign economic relations and trade in 1982, her work has always been appraised with the same character "confusion." In 1984, the deficits even reached 4 billion yuan (\$2.1 billion), greater than all previous years when Li Qiang was the minister of foreign trade. Such heavy losses were incurred when China was greatly in need of foreign exchange, so no wonder Chen Muhua has lost her position.

After all, as she has very strong backing, she has just changed her position.

Who is the "backer" behind the scenes? In the same column, "Notes on a Northern Journey," in CHENG MING No 55, I made a presentation of Chen Muhua's Family background, experience, and past career, which were not often known by people. To put it briefly, she is a niece of a KMT deputy commander. In the 1930's, she went to study and work in Yanan, bringing with her a rebellious nature and outstanding talent. In Yanan, she was often encouraged, cultivated, and fostered by Zhou Enlai. After 1949, she was frequently transferred to different posts, but all had close relations with economic work. On his deathbed, Zhou Enlai still urged Deng Xiaoping and others to continue to help her. Since Chen Muhua had basically taken a negative attitude toward the movement to "criticize Deng," she was then regarded with favor by Deng Xiaoping. At an NPC meeting, Chen became vice premier of the State Council (to replace Wu Guixian) and minister of economic relations with foreign countries. At the 11th CPC National Congress, she was reelected member of the CPC Central Committee and, together with Zhao Ziyang, became an alternate member of the Political Bureau, as Deng Yingchao had strongly recommended her. Three years ago, she became a state councilor and concurrently, minister of foreign economic relations and trade. This had been proposed by Deng Xiaoping.

Although her experience accumulated in the past does not suit the demands of the present situation and work (which is a common failing for many old cadres of the CPC), she has not committed such serious mistakes as Jin Degin. Therefore, she is still a "tumbler" in the political circles.

### Mr Y, a High-Ranking Cadre, Falls into a Sex Trap in Hong Kong

At first, when people in Beijing read from Hong Kong papers the report on "Mr X being caught in a sex-trap," they were not interested in it. But later, when more details of the case and the trial were published, some people became very interested in it and read the reports with gusto, as if they were reading novels.

"Do you know that someone from Guangdong has also been caught in a sex-trap in Hong Kong?" asked a friend in Beijing. At first I thought it must be someone joining a "Hong Kong tour" group who had the same hard luck as Mr X and had been caught in a certain place of amusement and dissipation. But my friend said that this was a piece of political news rather than social news.

A leading cadre of the Guangdong committee for economic relations with foreign countries fell into a "bed trap" when he was in Hong Kong on business. Hong Kong's Mr X was forced to have nude photos taken, but this Mr Y from Guangdong (the letter Y is the first letter of the Man's Romanized Chinese name) was videotaped when he was "performing in bed." Mr Y then got into greater troubles than Mr X. He was temporarily relieved of his post for self-examination when the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee learned all this, because he had also been involved in some economic cases. Mr Y is an able man. Originally he was a member of the Luohu District CPC Committee. Then he was promoted to a post in Shenzhen City. Since he was more capable than the others, he was then appointed responsible person of the Guangdong committee for economic relations with foreign countries. Now that his crimes have been exposed, some people, out of their love for talented people, still suggest that he should be appointed to an appropriate post in Huizhou. The result is still unknown.

### Deng Xiaoping Solves a Personnel Problem in Guangdong

While Wang Ning, deputy director of the Guangdong committee for economic relations with foreign countries, is in jail because of the tobacco leaf case, another head of this committee has been relieved of his post. This organization, which is closely related with foreign trade, has actually become fairly much paralyzed. This alerted Deng Xiaoping, who was in Guangzhou when the case was being handled. He paid great attention to the problem of who would fill the vacancy of director of the aforesaid committee. Governor Liang Lingguang intended to promote Yu Fei, mayor of Foshan City, to this post and asked him for help many times. But each time he was refused by the latter. Yu Fei, a far-sighted and capable cadre, has successfully promoted the modernization drive in Foshan by importing advanced equipment and technology from abroad, which made the city fall into debt. He is thus called "mayor in debt." However, this magic weapon has brought about a great leap forward in Foshan's economy and made this city a "star city." For this reason, Yu Fei has become well-known everywhere and attracted Liang Lingguang's attention. On behalf of Liang Lingguang, Wu Nansheng has been to Foshan four times to invite Yu Fei to Guangzhou, but the latter has refused the invitation. Therefore, some people said that Kong Ming [also known as Zhuge Liang] offered to help Liu Bei when the latter had called on him three times, but now Yu Fei has refused the invitation of Wu Nansheng even when the latter has called on him four times. This shows that Yu Fei is really "ironhearted."

## Arbitrage of a Company with a "Leftist Paper" as a Shareholder Investigated

In Guangdong's special economic zones, unhealthy tendencies are also very popular. Shenzhen's foreign exchange black markets which are difficult to ban are notorious throughout the country. According to a cadre in Beijing, whose job has something to do with the special zones, there are also brisk black markets in Zhuhai. "I will tell you something that is surprising. A certain company in Zhuhai, partly invested in by a 'leftist paper,' was recently investigated for arbitrage of more than 1 million Hong Kong dollars. This huge sum of money is now frozen." But he believes that since the "leftist paper" is involved, the case may be easier to handle.

It has been said that some cadres in Guangzhou as well as some overseas businessmen have some complaints about Bo Yibo.

People may still remember that during his last visit to Guangzhou, Zhao Ziyang gave an instruction on problems concerning the sale of the products produced by enterprises with foreign investment, which had been allowed to be sold in the domestic market only, and the remittance of their funds. He said: If you can find foreign exchange, the bank will make the remittance out of the country. After this instruction, which can be understood in different ways, was made, both Hong Kong businessmen and foreign trade cadres felt relieved and glad. However, as soon as Bo Yibo arrived in Guangdong, he raised the question of arbitrage of foreign exchange, holding that this should be "checked resolutely." Since he is vice chairman of the Central Advisory Commission and vice chairman of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification, what he has said certainly carries a lot of weight. But following his instruction, Hong Kong and foreign businessmen will get into more trouble, and China's foreign trade will be more difficult to carry out.

It was said that in Guangzhou, Zhuhai, and Shenzhen, people have said some disrespectful things about Bo Yibo. But since this "hearsay" has not been confirmed, I will not go on with it in this article.

## Small Papers Touch Off Big Problems

However, since the question of small papers also mentioned by Bo Yibo has been widely responded to and it has wider involvement, I cannot but make a faithful report here.

Bo Yibo carried out an "investigation and study" in Guangdong from the last 10 days of January to mid-February in his capacity of vice chairman of the Central Advisory Commission. During this period, he made quite a few remarks, some of which were about "straightening out and banning small papers." He said: "It is necessary to straighten out and ban those books, magazines, and small papers which spread unwholesome ideas." Here are some people's responses to these remarks: "What is wholesome, and what is unwholesome?"

"Is there a demarcation line between them? Why was it not said clearly? Could it be said clearly?"

"Most small papers in Guangdong are good. If some of them have defects, they need to be improved. Why should they be banned at the order of an official?"

The question of small papers seems to be a small one, but actually it is not. Other problems touched off by this question are even more serious.

Some people of political insight have noticed that after Bo Yibo made these remarks in Guangdong, GONGREN RIBAO carried a commentator's article on 17 March, which was entitled "Small Papers Should be Straightened Out." It said that newspapers, journals, and literary works "must have wholesome and positive contents, which can encourage people to advance. No spiritual pollution should be allowed on the ideological front. It is our long-term task to oppose the rotten ideas of capitalism and poisonous ideas of feudalism." These remarks have been criticized by many people in Beijing's cultural circles. The following are some cooler responses: "Have the central leaders not said that the question of 'spiritual pollution' will not be mentioned again in the future? Why should it be mentioned now?"

"How could the question of small papers be lumped together with 'spiritual pollution?'"

"Does it mean putting political labels on and wielding big sticks against certain papers and literary works, and suppressing the 'freedom of creation?'"

On 1 March, GONGREN RIBAO carried an article entitled "Thinking Must Not Be Blocked." Its enlightened viewpoints enjoyed the support of Beijing's intellectuals. But the viewpoints of "Small Papers Should Be Straightened Out," which was "polluted" by the leftist poisonous influence, are rather conservative. Therefore, some young workers in Beijing hold that the paper should not publish such an article. It was said that RENMIN RIBAO also noticed this problem. On the day after GONGREN RIBAO published the "leftist" article (18 March), RENMIN RIBAO republished GONGREN RIBAO's good article, which was published 17 days earlier, with some "slight abridgment" (deleting one sentence and changing three characters--the writer). This is a marvelous method of "setting one's own spear against one's own shield"--refuting GONGREN RIBAO with its own argument--which should be praised.

#### Chen Yun And Bo Yibo Hate Small Papers Most

According to information from highly placed sources in Beijing it is said that Chen Yun and Bo Yibo hold an opinion different from those of most members of the Central Secretariat on the question of small papers. They intend to "ban" these papers while the latter intend to "improve" them (to affirm those which are good and to improve those which have defects). The opinion of Chen and Bo has been directly reflected or revealed by the documents of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and Bo's remarks.

In a document issued by the Central Discipline Commission Inspection, "unwholesome small papers are spreading unchecked" was listed as one of the main expressions of the "new unhealthy tendencies." This coincides with the spirit of Bo Yibo's remarks in Guangdong. I was told that in the draft of his "Speech



at the Work Conference on the Second Stage of Party Rectification," Bo Yibo also took the problem of "unwholesome small papers spreading unchecked" as one of the "new unhealthy tendencies." But later, when the Central Secretariat discussed the draft, there were different opinions. Finally they reached a compromise and the question of small papers was mentioned in a separate point (the fifth point), not being lumped together with the new unhealthy tendencies. Nevertheless, this once again shows that Bo Yibo and Chen Yun hold identical views on this question.

The attitude toward small papers is in essence a question of allowing and not allowing enlightened ideology. If one insists on placing restrictions on ideology, saying that only thus can it better suit the reform and the open-door policy in the economic field, we would like to ask: Is this a Marxist viewpoint or an anti-Marxist viewpoint?

No doubt, small papers need to be improved. But why should they be labeled as "being unwholesome?" If some people want to make a breakthrough in this field and restart the movement to "eliminate spiritual pollution," I am afraid this may be the most detestable new "healthy tendency" at present.

#### Some Differences that Merit More Attention

Another item of information from the same highly placed sources, which is especially important, is that there was an "episode" at the work conference on the second stage of party rectification, which was convened by the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification on 28 February. After the meeting had been going on for 4 days, Hu Yaobang called a meeting of the Central Secretariat to listen to a report about the aforesaid work conference. It decided through discussion that Hu Qili would put forth four opinions at the conference on behalf of the Central Secretariat. On 5 March, Hu Yaobang and many members of the Political Bureau and the Central Secretariat attended the conference. The reason for these changes in the agenda of the conference was that some people felt dissatisfied with the progress in the first 4 days and asked the Central Secretariat to correct the course of discussion and add some points to Bo Yibo's lengthy speech delivered on the first day.

When we make a comparison between the speeches made by Bo Yibo and Hu Qili, we find the following differences:

Bo Yibo required that "all units, in which the second stage of party rectification is being carried out, should take checking the new unhealthy tendencies as a breakthrough in opening up new prospects in party rectification...so as to bring about and promote further development of various jobs in party rectification." However in the first of the four-point suggestions Hu Qili pointed out: "As to the task and focus of the second stage of party rectification, the Central Secretariat holds that..it is necessary to pay particular attention to rectifying the unhealthy tendencies, enhancing party spirit, and strengthening discipline in the second stage of party rectification and grasp them firmly." Thus, compared with what Hu Qili had said, Bo Yibo's speech seemed to be ambiguous and sloppy.

Hu Qili continued (from what was quoted above): "At the same time, it is necessary to continue to do a good job in eliminating the 'leftist' influence and correcting the guiding ideology in professional work." However, when talking about the second stage of party rectification, Bo Yibo said nothing about eliminating the "leftist" influence.

The first of the eight main expressions of the unhealthy tendencies mentioned by Bo Yibo was: "Party and government organs and party and government cadres engaging in commercial activities and running enterprises (or doing so in the names of their family members, relatives, and friends)." He did not mention the army. But what Hu Qili said was all about the "party, government, and army": "The whole party must pay attention to correcting the unhealthy tendencies and the party, government, and army organs and leading cadres at various levels must first make an examination of themselves. Particularly, all departments and committees of the party, government and army organs are required to set a good example in this respect."

#### Contradictions Relating to Power

I asked a friend in Beijing's "political circles": 1) Are Deng Xiaoping (whose son Deng Pufang runs a company) and Hu Yaobang (whose son Hu Deping runs a company) included in those party and government cadres "engaging in commercial activities and running enterprises in the name of their family members, relatives and friends" mentioned by Bo Yibo? 2) Why did Bo Yibo say nothing about the unhealthy tendencies in military organs and among army cadres, since the army had also admitted that there are unhealthy tendencies such as illegally engaging in commercial activities in the army and since he himself had been to Guangdong and must know something about an event which happened last year, in which a torpedo boat of the Nanhai fleet escorted a landing ship smuggling cars to the mainland and confronted the customs' antimuggling boat gun to gun (resulting in the discharge of several division-level cadres)?

My friend said that there is a lot behind all this. There are always contradictions relating to power behind differences in wording. Hu Qili, who represented the Central Secretariat, emphasized the following two points: "To rectify the party style and promote the reform and the implementation of the open-door policy" and "to solve problems and prevent disorder. "If no one wants to create "disorder," why should the Central Secretariat worry about it?

The reform of the economic structure is an important matter. Since there are no existing experiences to follow, it cannot be successful without continuous exploration and experiments. Therefore, in the course of the reform, shortcomings and defects are unavoidable. Those who take part in the reform and carry out the policies cannot avoid mistakes in their work either. So, it is unreasonable to take the mistakes which occur in the course of reform as the grounds for opposing the reform. It is even more erroneous to regard the minor aspects of things--the unhealthy tendencies--as the inevitable outcome of the reform and use them as an excuse to obstruct the progress of the reform.

## Challenge of the Hainan Island Question

When dealing with problems of some localities and units, the policy-makers of the CPC must get rid of the influence of those who are trying to obstruct the reform, and be cool-headed and realistic in analyzing and studying problems. Only thus can they draw correct conclusions. Now they are faced with the challenge of the Hainan question.

It is estimated that if the motor vehicles Hainan Island imported in 1984 had been sold to inland areas by the companies on this island, Hainan would have got a profit of 2 billion yuan. However these motor vehicles have been used by certain individuals to stir up new unhealthy tendencies. As a result, the markets of inland China were seriously disturbed by the reselling of these vehicles. This is known as the so-called crazy tide of motor vehicles.

In order to check the unhealthy tendency of reselling motor vehicles, Guangdong Governor Liang Lingguang led a work group to Hainan Island to investigate the matter. Then the work groups sent by the central authorities and Guangdong Province made a decision to put together all the vehicles imported since the beginning of this year and transport them to the mainland so that they can be sold under official guidance. After that, the import of 17 other products, which had been imported by Hainan, was temporarily suspended. Thus, the number of businessmen coming from both Hong Kong and inland China to do business with Haikou city has dropped quickly. Last year, it was very difficult to get plane or ship tickets from Guangzhou to Haikou, but now they can be easily obtained. Some cadres who have just come to Beijing from Haikou said that Hainan's beautiful clothes have been turned into rags in a short while.

Lei Yu, chairman of the Hainan Administrative Region, and other leaders of this island have, in varying degrees, felt some pressure since the central and provincial work groups came to the island. Recently, a large-sized slogan appeared in Haikou City, which said: "Lei Yu is a good leader, the people on Hainan Island back you!" It was said that after Lei Yu heard this, he criticized the slogan, saying that it could only be "more of a hindrance than a help." At a meeting, he said that he, and no one else, would be responsible for all the problems of this island, because they had nothing to do with any other people. For this reason he is more respected by the people on Hainan Island. They say that in Haikou, there is an ancestral temple for five honest and upright officials (including Hai Rui), and in future, Lei Yu's name should be added to it.

The Hainan people insist that only by persevering in reform and opening up can the island become prosperous and rich. If so, it will not be difficult to catch up with Taiwan in 20 years. This is the main aspect of things, while the unhealthy tendency of reselling vehicles at a profit is but a minor aspect, which is inevitable in the course of great changes. Someone who has just come to Beijing from Hainan said: "The more one does, the more mistakes one commits. However, if one does not do anything, one will commit the biggest mistake--not doing anything for the prosperity of the country and the people."

It is hoped that a distinction will be drawn between the main aspect and the minor aspect of things and that the enthusiasm of the Hainan people to quickly change the backward situation of the island will be protected rather than dampened.

Good Heading in RENMIN RIBAO

On 9 March, under the headline "Persevering in Reform of the Economic Structure, Resolutely Rectifying the New Unhealthy Tendencies," RENMIN RIBAO reported the work conference held by the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification. I think this is an excellent headline, which should be given full marks. In fact, this headline, which gives positive publicity to the views of the reformers, has also provided a warning to those Chinese Don Quixotes, who "dare to go against the tide": Do not disturb the reform under the pretext of curbing new unhealthy tendencies!

CSO: 4005/829

END